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CONTENTS OF VOLUME TWENTY-SEVEN

NUMBER 1 — MARCH 1948

Page

Hermann Wenzel and His Air Clock 1
By W. B. Stephens

Selected Letters of Osgood Church Wheeler 9
Introduction and Notes by Sandford Fleming

Chinese Highbinder Societies in California 19
By Hart H. North

Documentary 32

Bound for the Land of Canaan, Ho! 33
The Diary of Levi Stowell, 1849
Introduction and Notes by Marco G. Thorne

Determination of the Birthdays of Urban Communities 51
By J. N. Bowman

Joseph de Moraga Commissioned Lieutenant 63
Translation and Notes by Pablo Avila

California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins (Continued) 65

Recent Californiana 74

News of the Society 75

Marginalia 91

NUMBER 2 — JUNE 1948

Page

Republican Nominating Convention of 1860 97
A California Report By Milton H. Shutes

Birthdays of Urban Communities (Continued) 104
Branciforte By J. N. Bowman

William Davis Merry Howard 105
By Gertrude Howard Whitwell

The Founding of a Mojave Desert Community 113
Edited by Martha A. Chickering

Selected Letters of Osgood Church Wheeler (Continued) 123
Edited by Sandford Fleming

Mexican Insurgent Provisional Coinage 132
By Roy Hill

Elisha Oscar Crosby 133
A California Lawyer in the Eighteen-Fifties
By Charles A. Barker

The Second Incumbency of Jacques A. Moerenhout 141
Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by A. P. Nasatir

Rev. Dr. W. A. Scott 149
By John B. Astles

Bound for the Land of Canaan, Ho! (Continued) 157
Edited by Marco G. Thorne

California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins (Continued) 165

News of the Society 175

Marginalia 185

NUMBER 3 SEPTEMBER 1948

Page

Abraham Dubois Starr 193
Pioneer California Miller and Wheat Exporter
By W. A. Starr

The Second Incumbency of Jacques A. Moerenhout (Continued) . . 203
Translated and edited by A. P. Nasatir

Early Military Posts of Mendocino County 215
By Fred B. Rogers

Selected Letters of Osgood Church Wheeler (Continued) 229
Edited by Sandford Fleming

Lust for Riches 237
By Luis Monguió

William Davis Merry Howard (Continued) 249
By Gertrude Howard Whitwell

Gold Mountain, Big City, Chinese Map 256
Interpreted by William Hoy

Bound for the Land of Canaan, Ho! (Continued) 259
Edited by Marco G. Thorne

California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins (Continued) 267

Recent Californiana 275

News of the Society 277

Marginalia 283

NUMBER 4 DECEMBER 1948

Page

The Delayed Discovery of San Francisco Bay 289
By H. F. Raup

Larkin to His Sons 297
Edited by Dr. A. T. Leonard, Jr.

Selected Letters of Osgood Church Wheeler (Concluded) 301
Edited by Sandford Fleming

Documentary 310

Thomas Vincent Cator 311
Populist Leader of California
By H. F. Taggart

William Davis Merry Howard (Concluded) 319
By Gertrude Howard Whitwell

Naming of the Elector-Designate, Santa Barbara, 1830 333
Translated and edited by Pablo Avila

California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins (Concluded) 339

Documentary 352

The Second Incumbency of Jacques A. Moerenhout (Continued) . . 353
Translated and edited by A. P. Nasatir

Bound for the Land of Canaan, Ho! (Continued) 361
Edited by Marco G. Thorne

Recent Californiana 371

News of the Society 372

Marginalia 380

ILLUSTRATIONS

Facing Page

Hermann Wenzel 1

Wenzel Air Clock 4

Where the Deadly Highbinder Holds Forth 19

Unit of Brooklyn and Fruitvale Horse Railroad 72

Letterhead of Republican Central Committee of the State of California, Presidential Campaign of 1860 97

James Goulding's First Prospect Hole and Well Rig 118

Abraham Dubois Starr in 1875 193

The Wheatport Grain Warehouse and Flour Mill of Starr & Co. in 1887 197

South Vallejo Plant of Sperry Division, General Mills; Starr Mills, Built in 1869, on Right. Also, Wheatport (Crockett) Plant of Starr & Co., Converted into Sugar Warehouse and Refinery of California-Hawaiian Sugar Refining Co., Ltd. (present-day view) 200

Fort Bragg About 1862 (looking east) 218

Map of San Mateo Rancho 252

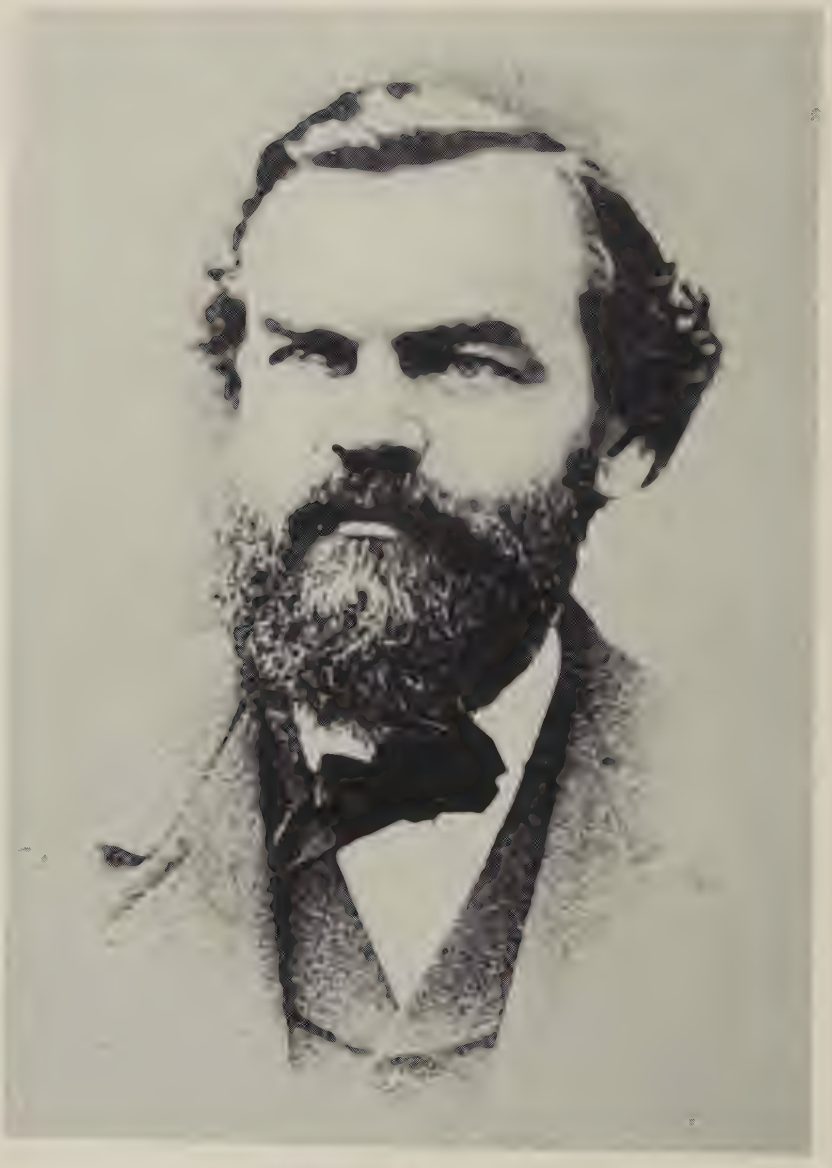
Gold Mountain, Big City, Chinese Map 257

The Shores of the Gulf of the Farallones (from inside the Farallones) . 289

Geographical Conditions in the Vicinity of the Golden Gate 294

William Davis Merry Howard 319

Mrs. William Davis Merry Howard 326



HERMANN WENZEL

1830-1884

Hermann Wenzel and His Air Clock

By W. B. Stephens

AIR clocks, conceived and manufactured in San Francisco, served the community for thirty-three years, when, suddenly, on an April morning in 1906, they all stopped.

Stated in briefest terms, the invention consists of a series of subsidiary or secondary clocks and a central or master clock which sends out air impulses to the secondary clocks at one-minute intervals. To those bay-area residents whose memories go back to the days of the old side-wheeler ferry boats, the term "walking beam" is quite familiar: that massive beam pivoted near its middle, the ends alternately going up and down as it drives the paddle wheels. Presently I hope to show that there is a resemblance in the walking beam to a prominent feature of the air clock.

In the early 1930's there came into my hands from an old building (originally the Kohlmoos Hotel) in West Alameda a curious looking contraption, the like of which I had never seen. Its most noticeable feature at first glance was a bar extending across the top and bearing at each end an inverted bell jar which hung over a glass jar directly below. In addition to the bar and jars were geared wheels, cams, pipes, levers, weights, and a long pendulum, carrying at its end a nine-pound pendulum bob; but there was no dial nor hands, nor any provision for them. It was, of course, the bar with bell jars dipping one, then the other, into the jars below which reminded me so forcibly of the walking beam on the ferry boat. Except for the presence of a legend painted upon the case of the contrivance it might have long remained a mystery. The legend read: "Air clock, H. Wenzel, 328 Kearny Street, San Francisco. Patented October 23, 1877."

With this as a cue I was able to locate Wenzel's son and daughter, who were both living in San Francisco at that time (1932). From the son, Rudolph G. Wenzel, I learned much about the clock, and from the daughter, Miss Hermine Wenzel, much about the life of her father. Besides, I found Mr. Emil Gingg, who as a young man had been with Wenzel and after the latter's death continued to help the son carry on the business. It was upon the material kindly made available by these three that the following account, written originally in 1933, was based.

Biographical Sketch of Hermann Wenzel

In the hallway of his old home on Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, there hung (and still hang) two objects before which Hermann Wenzel paused each day as he left for his place of business. One was a match safe,

from which he took a match; after lighting his morning cigar he would look at the second object—a clipping from a German newspaper carrying an order for his arrest. Translated literally it reads as follows:

WARRANT FOR ARREST

At the last land recruiting, drafted for military service, assigned to the foot artillery regiment in the 12-pounder foot battery No. 6, ranked as canonier recruit, Hermann Julius Wenzel, born at Sebnitz, 20¾ years old, 72½ inches high, by profession a clock maker, had the order sent to him to arrive for battery service on January 5th of the present year; but up to now he has not complied, and according to advices of the city justice at Sebnitz his furlough had already expired on December 27th of the preceding year, and under these circumstances he has taken himself off, which gives grounds to the conjecture that he intends to withdraw from military service.

Thenceforth the aforementioned recruit Wenzel is herewith declared a deserter and to all military justices and police departments the request is directed to seek him and in case of being arrested, to deliver him here.

Dresden, January 28th, 1851
Royal-Artillery-Corps-Court Martial
August Funcke, Audit

From the clipping we gather some authentic facts concerning young Hermann: his age, height, his trade, and that he was "A.W.O.L." from the army. The portrait accompanying this paper shows the cast his features assumed in maturity, also his dark hair and full beard.

Sebnitz, Saxony, where he was born in 1830, is not far from Dresden, and at an early age he was apprenticed to that master Dresden watchmaker Adolph Lange, with whom, according to the custom of the day, he thereupon made his home. It was probably Lange who sent him the clipping, for his parents were not apprised that their son, then almost twenty-one, intended to run away from home and go to America. With a companion he escaped by way of England, but they had some uneasy moments before their ship was at sea, as apprehension when deserting meant fourteen years in prison. It is evident from the above that Wenzel was courageous and adventurous, quick to embrace new things, new modes of life. Consequently we are not surprised to learn that upon his arrival at New York he took immediate steps to become a naturalized citizen of his adopted country. Little could be found about his life in New York save that he followed his trade of clock and watch making. In the early 1850's he came to California, and thence went to the Hawaiian Islands, where he remained for four years. Returning to San Francisco he was married in 1861 to Miss Marie Mocker, also a native of Saxony. His only trip back to Germany was in 1870. He died in San Francisco in November 1884, at the age of fifty-four.

According to his daughter, Wenzel was gentle in his home life, yet firm. He was somewhat careless in his dress, and often returned home in the evening with his habitually worn black bow-tie loose or down inside his vest. On occasional evenings he would sit for hours playing and listening to his friends improvise upon the piano. His drawings and paintings indicate

that he had other artistic abilities. In conversation he was said to have been rather reserved, but when he did take part he was listened to with respect. It is odd that although the requirements of his profession made it necessary for him to be methodical, he kept no account books—an omission which caused his son many difficulties after his father's death. Hermann Wenzel joined the Turn Verein as well as other German societies. He insisted also that his children speak German in the home, his reason being that they had ample opportunity to speak English outside; nevertheless he was a most loyal American citizen.

Wenzel was perfectly fitted for the work to which he devoted his life. He had the patience and the flexible hands to shape and repeatedly reshape cam, lever, and wheel until the exactly desired action was attained. He was indeed a mechanical genius. His inventions included the air clock, elaborate chiming clocks, a "fly back" clock for his show window, the indicator moving horizontally across the numerals until twelve was reached, when the indicator would fly back to the beginning. It is said that people would gather in front of his store shortly before noon to watch the fly back. When the central control or master clock in public places was visible, it was a perennial source of interest.

To his son he transmitted much of his mechanical and artistic ability, and his grandson is an accomplished pianist. We can reasonably assume that Hermann Wenzel's father also had a mechanical mind and clever hands, for it was he who was the maker of a curious family heirloom—in the strictest sense because it consists of a loom, complete in every detail, within a rectangular glass bottle. Upon a label within the bottle is the name "C. G. Wenzel, Sebnitz, 1818."

Description and Fate of Air Clock

Wenzel conducted his business of clock- and watchmaking and jewelry in San Francisco, first (1860 *Directory)* at 16 Second Street; then with William Krahe (1861 *Directory)* at 334 Montgomery Street. In 1862 he was by himself at the same address; in 1863-64 at 303 Montgomery, also by himself, and the same listing serves through 1874. In 1875-76, he and a partner, Emil A. Hartmann, are established at 324 Kearny as importers and manufacturers of clocks, jewelry, watches, etc.; the next year he is at the same business address, no partner being mentioned, however. But in 1878 his address changes to 328 Kearny [between Bush and Pine] where he remains without a partner until his death in 1884, the management then falling upon his son Rudolph.

From his headquarters, air clocks were supplied to buildings requiring multiple clocks centrally controlled. Schools in Sacramento and Benicia used them, and they were shipped even as far east as Boise, Idaho. But, as might be expected, San Francisco was the place where the greatest number

of installations were made. Banks, schools, and some of the old-time palatial private homes ordered them, and two were installed in the old City Hall when the McAllister Street addition was built. They were beautifully made and were accurate, but they required frequent expert attention. The liquid had to be maintained at the proper height in the jars; if it was too low, the air impulses were not properly sent out, and if too high, there was likelihood of the fluid getting into the air tubes and stopping the secondary clocks. The settling and movements of the walls caused breaks in the air lines, frequently difficult both to locate and repair.

The career of the air clock closed with the San Francisco earthquake of 1906. All the drawings, patterns, tools and stock were burned; and the shaking and quaking walls wrecked the air lines and the glass jars containing the liquid necessary for their functioning. A strong factor causing the discontinuance of the air clock, too, was the advent of electrically controlled clocks. These were less cumbersome, were more easily installed, and required less care.

In 1933 this biographical sketch was placed along with other Wenzel data in the finished-causes file. Then, in December 1946, Miss Veronica J. Sexton, the librarian at the California Academy of Sciences in San Francisco, handed me a little pamphlet of eight pages which had been found in the newly received library of the estate of Dr. George Davidson. It bore the title, *Correct Time—Pneumatic Clock, Herman [sic] J. Wenzel Inventor and Patentee*. Unfortunately this pamphlet carries no date, but the name, "B. F. Sterett, Printer," is given. After two pages devoted to a brief account of the development of time-telling apparatus and its gradual improvement in accuracy, appears the following:

> It has been reserved for California to put into operation the most valuable invention connected with Clocks since the time of Galileo, and the most remarkable and at the same time the most simple and unfailing means of obtaining uniformity in the registration of time ever suggested.
>
> It is indeed so simple that the only point of astonishment is, that it has never been thought of before—and at the same time so perfectly reliable in its action and comprehensive in its scope that the number of clock faces upon which it is capable of showing precisely the same time as that indicated by the regulator, is practically unlimited.
>
> The inventor and patentee of this wonderful system of indicating time at different places by means of one standard regulator, is, Hermann J. Wenzel, of San Francisco, and his motive power for the subsidiary clock-faces is the inexhaustible one of *air*. . . .

Then follows an account of Wenzel's method of applying air. A regulator, connected with two simple air pumps operated by wheelwork, is placed in any convenient portion of a building. Pipes with branches are attached to the pumps and can be conducted to any number of buildings wherever a clock face is required to be shown. They can be introduced into an ordinary clock mounting, for example, and motion be communicated to the hands by the pulsuations of the air pumps of the regulator working

WENZEL AIR CLOCK

The central control movement, and *below on right*, a secondary
(Kohlmoos Hotel specimen)

unceasingly, perhaps far away in some dark closet. Thus, time can be distributed and accurately recorded all over a city, and no matter how numerous are the clock faces, the regulator alone requires winding once a week. "Should the winding of the Regulator be neglected," the pamphlet states, "it begins to strike a bell for the last twenty-four hours, calling for attention." There is no ticking noise, because the clock faces have no works.

Included among the places where the "pneumatic system of time notification" had been introduced were the Nevada Block, Baldwin Hotel, London and San Francisco Bank, San Francisco Verein, Real Estate Association, and the New German Hospital. The last three pages of the pamphlet are devoted to indorsements by various users, among them, J. B. Haggin, J. M. Walker & Co., Zadig & Weil, E. E. Eyre, M. S. Latham, E. J. Baldwin, and H. H. Noble. There is a picture of the master clock, and another shows one of the secondary clocks.

In January of 1947, the month after the finding of the pamphlet, I was returning by train from Los Angeles. Behind me were a friend and his wife, and during our conversation the latter asked me whether I had seen an article in a San Francisco newspaper about the finding of ten old clocks built into a house which was being wrecked. I had not, but I thought immediately, "That sounds like an air clock." Early the next morning, I telephoned a friend in San Francisco asking him to learn the name of the wrecking firm and what had become of the clocks. He found the wreckers and learned that it was, as I had surmised, an air clock and its subsidiaries, and that they had all been carefully removed and placed in the warehouse. Suffice to say that after due negotiations the clock, along with its secondaries, was transferred to the California Academy of Sciences.

Fortunately the man in charge of the wrecking operations had been an antique dealer in Connecticut and realized that the clocks might be of some collector value. In consequence he had removed them and their parts with the least possible injury. He gave me a copy of the San Francisco *News* of November 26, 1946, in which was an account of the old house (on the northwest corner of Van Ness Avenue and Washington Street), that was being torn down. It was the property of Mr. and Mrs. Silas H. Palmer and had been built in 1885 by Charles Holbrook, father of Mrs. Palmer.

It is a matter of great good fortune that this complete installation was saved intact—the master clock, the ten secondary clocks, and even the portions of woodwork in which the secondary clocks were mounted. No two of the mountings were alike; each had been painted to match the room in which it was installed. The Palmer clock was made subsequently to that in the Kohlmoos Hotel. This I know because Miss Wenzel told me that she accompanied her father when he went to Alameda to adjust and service the Kohlmoos clock a year or two before his death in 1884. The Palmer

house was not built until some two years after Wenzel died. Furthermore, there are differences in construction, which indicate that the Palmer clock was made at a later date.

I had thought the Palmer clock would certainly be the last air clock to be resurrected, so it was a great surprise to receive in October 1947 a letter from a gentleman in Schenectady, New York, saying that he had read an article of mine in an horological journal about the air clock and thought that I would be interested in knowing that he had bought one about a year ago. He had, however, found it much too large for his house and would sell it if I cared to buy. He also sent a description and two excellent photographs—so good, in fact, that I can be sure it is a genuine Wenzel, and showing, besides, two features not present in the California specimens. One is a dial with its hands set in the case above the movement and operated not by air impulses but by a rod attached to the movement below. The other feature is an accessory to the walking beam and will be described in connection with the operation of the mechanism of the clock.

A probable explanation of the presence of this clock on the Atlantic coast may be found in a conversation held with a recently discovered former employee of Rudolph Wenzel from 1889 to 1893, Mr. William Gillis, now of 2536 Virginia Street, Berkeley. Among other things, he told me that Hermann Wenzel, following extensive correspondence with some eastern men, went east himself with the hope and expectation of selling the patent rights to the clock for a large sum, but the negotiations failed and like many other inventors his hope for a large reward for his years of labor came to naught. It seems likely that Wenzel either took or sent this movement east in connection with his negotiations, for the purpose of demonstration. It is much more elaborately finished than the California specimens, and is housed in a handsome cherry case over eight feet high. The movement has engraved upon it, "H. Wenzel, Patented Oct. 23, 1877," and beneath this appears, "The Hahl M'fg Co., Baltimore, Md." This firm probably added the dial and made the case. Incidentally, this clock is now on its way to California.

At first glance the master clock looks fearfully complicated; nevertheless I am hopeful that I may be able to make the reader understand how it operates. The working of the secondary is simple and easily comprehended.

The master clock may be said to consist of three parts: (1) the two air pumps; (2) the mechanism which causes these pumps to work alternately; and (3) the time-keeping mechanism.

(1) The air pumps are simple affairs. A fairly long, narrow, bell-shaped jar with opening downward is suspended at each end of a bar (the "walking beam") which, as the ends move up and down, alternately dips the bell jars into the glass jars below. The lower jars are filled almost to the top with a solution of glycerine and water. A lead pipe dips down into the jar to the

bottom, and then turns up in a U to a point above the level of the solution in the jar. When the bell jar is pushed down into the solution, the air is compressed and so sends out an impulse through the lead pipe to the secondary clocks on that pipe line. Each secondary clock has a small glass jar of glycerine solution with a tube passing up through its bottom and terminating above the level of the liquid. Over this is a correspondingly small bell jar. When the air impulse comes, the small bell jar is raised, and through the lever by which it is suspended a cogged wheel in the secondary clockwork is moved up one tooth, and through the other wheels the hands are moved one minute. The descended bell jar of the master clock now rises, and the other one descends to send out an impulse through the other line. These alternating impulses are at one-minute intervals.

(2) The shifting mechanism which causes first one and then the other bell jar to rise is too complicated for description here. It is only necessary to mention its action and that it is operated by a heavy weight.

(3) The time-keeping part consists essentially of the escapement and its 39½-inch pendulum with its 9-pound bob—an arrangement which permits the teeth of the escape wheel to "escape" one tooth at a time with each swing of the pendulum. The motive power for the escapement and the big pendulum is a small weight fastened to a light bar or rod. This 1-ounce weight is raised or wound at each rise of the walking beam. It speaks volumes for the accuracy and the delicacy of the workmanship when a weight of this small size can keep such a large pendulum in motion. A clock which is thus wound at the end of each minute or other small interval of time is called a remontoir.

It is now time to make the explanation, promised above, of the other unusual feature of the Hahl clock. This is a tube attached to the walking beam and parallel to it. The tube is sealed at both ends and contains some quicksilver. As the lower end of the walking beam rises and reaches a point above the level of its pivoted center, the quicksilver in the tube runs to the other end of the tube with a rush and thus adds considerable force to the impulse.

The pamphlet had implied that the clocks needed little attention. From my interview with Rudolph Wenzel, the son, I received a different impression. Part of his job was that of trouble-shooter. He said that this was extremely difficult and that he was glad now to be free of the air clocks and their ills. He was in poor health, a fact which did not make his attitude toward the clocks any more kindly. Though his illness prevented him from engaging in the sport he loved best—fishing—he was able to work part of the time at making landing nets and reels of his own invention and of such superior quality as to delight the heart of the fisherman who was fortunate enough to secure them.

His sister told me of an amusing incident concerning the care of the clocks. As mentioned above, the old City Hall in San Francisco had two, and her brother had the care of them. The supervisors were rather dilatory about ordering his bills paid, so finally in a fit of exasperation he stopped the clocks and placed upon them a sign, "No pay, no tick." This proved effective.

Hermann Wenzel had an air clock in his home. Some of the pipes are still in the walls and a projecting end of one of them serves as a hook upon which hangs a picture. He had one on exhibit at the old Mechanics Institute on Larkin Street. At this time there was also exhibited a flying machine in which he was much interested and which he explained carefully to his daughter. Wenzel had a brother, Edward, in San Francisco. He was listed in the 1859 *Directory* (a year before H. Wenzel's name first appeared) as an engraver at 100 Merchant Street; his dwelling was given in the next *Directory* as 16 Second Street, and it was at this address that his brother, H. Wenzel, began his watchmaking business in San Francisco. Edward's first partner seems to have been A. Peter Procureur (1862 *Directory*). In 1874 he is listed as senior partner in association with Baruch Rothschild and Charles Hadenfeldt, manufacturing jewelers, at 519 Montgomery. Two years later they moved to the corner of Post and Kearny, and in 1878 were designated as proprietors of the "California Jewelry Factory," address the same.

Could Hermann Wenzel reappear on the scene now, as have the Kohlmoos, Palmer, and Hahl air clocks, he would stand in amazement at the changes which have taken place in electrical and mechanical lines, including the radio and the opening up of atomic power. Most interesting to him would be the presence of electric clocks in practically every house—all electrically controlled at the power house by the generator, each clock being rechecked every 1/60 of a second instead of once a minute as did his clock.

Selected Letters of Osgood Church Wheeler

With Introduction and Notes
By SANDFORD FLEMING

OF the educational and religious leaders who left records contributing to our knowledge of their special fields during the days of the California gold rush, the central figure in the story of Baptist beginnings is Rev. Dr. O. C. Wheeler, who for several decades was among the best-known and honored of its citizens. The *Herald of Truth*[1] of May 1, 1889, reporting an historical address[2] made by Dr. Wheeler in Sacramento on April 13 of that year, before the California Baptist Historical Society, declared: "Dr. Wheeler has made more history than most men ever read." And, at the time of his death in 1891, the Oakland *Daily Evening Tribune* stated: "Captain Wheeler[3] was a man universally liked and his friends all over the state are legion. He has had a long and eventful career, and his early advent to the Golden State has made his life a part of the early history of California."[4]

The letters from which the following have been selected for publication were written chiefly to friends and officials in the East, and appeared in various papers of the period. They have been collected from files of these papers in the libraries of the American Baptist Historical Society, Chester, Pennsylvania; The Samuel Colgate Baptist Historical Collection, Hamilton, New York; and the Berkeley Baptist Divinity School Collection, Berkeley, California.

Osgood Church Wheeler was born in the township of Wolcott (Butler), Wayne County, New York, on March 13, 1816, the tenth child in a family of twelve. His early years were spent on his father's farm, where he had only limited educational opportunities, and at the age of twenty-one he left home with a few cents in his pocket, one suit of homespun clothes, and a determination to secure an education. He enrolled at Madison University,[5] and supported himself through eight years of serious study, graduating with honors in 1845 from both the college and the theological seminary. Soon afterward he was married, and became the first Baptist pastor at East Greenwich, Rhode Island, where he was ordained.

Wheeler early gave evidence of his leadership ability. He had a very successful ministry in his first pastorate, including the building of a church, and after two years he was called to the important field of Jersey City, New Jersey. Here he was successful in uniting three factions in the church, and in less than a year had developed it in such fashion that the outlook was most promising. It was at this time that the American Baptist Home Mission Society invited him to go to California as its pioneer missionary.[6]

After considerable hesitation, he accepted the appointment, and when the decision was reached he had only fourteen days in which to make his arrangements to leave. In those fourteen days he resigned his pastorate, closed up all his business affairs, visited Philadelphia, preached ten times, gave three addresses, and superintended the getting together of his outfit.

The journey by way of the Isthmus of Panama was long and difficult.[7] On the morning of February 28, 1849, the *California* passed through the Golden Gate, the first steamer to enter San Francisco Bay, and on it were the first Baptist missionaries to enter the far western field, O. C. Wheeler and his wife, Elizabeth Hamilton Wheeler.[8]

On March 18, Wheeler began holding public worship in a small unfinished building owned by Charles L. Ross (see Note 25, below), who had arrived from Rockway, New Jersey, in April 1847. Two months later, regular morning and evening services were instituted, and a Sunday School started. On June 24, at the close of morning worship, a committee reported favorably regarding the organizing of a church, and on July 6 six persons adopted articles of faith and a covenant, and the church was constituted. On the following Sunday, July 8, this little company was publicly recognized as the First Baptist Church of San Francisco.[9] On August 5, a church building was dedicated, situated on the north side of Washington Street near Stockton, now in the heart of Chinatown. This was the first Protestant church building erected in California, and in this building John C. Pelton carried on the first *free* public school in California. At one time this was the only school in the city, with one hundred and fifty pupils in regular attendance.[10]

Wheeler was indefatigable in his work for his denomination and for the community at large. In October 1850, he was one of the organizers, and the first moderator of the San Francisco Baptist Association; he was one of the organizers and the first president of the California Baptist Education Society in 1853; he edited the first Baptist newspaper east of the Rockies, *The Pacific Banner*, published in Sacramento in 1852-53.[11] He was president of the Pacific Tract Society; a leader in the temperance movement; an acknowledged master in public speaking, being frequently called upon to address city and state gatherings, including the state Senate, and on one occasion in 1854, the President, cabinet, and members of Congress in the House of Representatives.[12]

In the middle 1850's a throat infection made it necessary for Wheeler to retire from the ministry and to limit his public speaking; for seven years he was unable to speak in public at all. However, in the midst of the secular work which he took up at the time, he continued to hope that he might recover sufficiently to resume his ministerial duties. From 1854 to 1863 he was secretary of the California Agricultural Society, resigning this post to become chief clerk of the state Assembly. He was appointed collector of

internal revenue for the fourth California district, and during the Civil War he served as an official of the United States Sanitary Commission, an organization designed to aid wounded and needy soldiers of the Union army. In less than a year he was instrumental in organizing over three hundred "Soldiers' Aid Societies," and forwarded to the commission in New York the sum of $197,000.[13] Finally he had to give up hope of completely recovering his voice, and in 1871 he accepted a position with the Central Pacific Railroad Company.[14] The company was having trouble with its baggage department, and Wheeler was placed in charge to reorganize and systemize the procedure. He was remarkably successful; in 1873 the company sent him on a tour of inspection to study the systems used by other companies, in connection with which he visited twenty-six states and territories and Canada. The result was the development of a system of baggage handling that was unique. It is said that "he inaugurated a system of freight transport so perfectly systematized to prevent losses that any package could be followed in cases of delay and redeemed with absolute certainty."[15] Wheeler continued in this position with the Central Pacific Railroad and the Southern Pacific until his death in April 1891.

In course of time he partially recovered from the throat infection, and preached and spoke widely throughout the state. References to his public work occur in the press and elsewhere. In 1887, when the Baptist Historical Society of California was organized, he was elected president and served in this capacity until he died.

The Baptist denomination was fortunate in having Wheeler as their pioneer leader in California: earnest, talented, big-hearted, persevering, inspiring confidence in men in all walks of life. Sometimes he was misunderstood because he moved too fast, or became impatient of delay in carrying out important plans. The large space devoted to him by the newspapers at the time of his death reflects the honor and regard in which he was held.[16] He is described as "a pioneer of pioneers," "a patriarch full of years and honors," and "one of the earliest and best citizens of the state." His dominant traits, it is said, were "a burning energy, indomitable perseverance and courage, good cheer, rare tact, blended with an inborn courtesy. His smile was contagious; his tone of voice was indicative of his cultured mind and kind heart."[17]

The letters here published reflect something of the personality of Wheeler. His observant nature and mental alertness appear in his descriptions, and in the thoroughness with which he studied various subjects that appealed to his interest. His letter on "The Gold Region," written August 15, 1849 (see New York *Recorder*, Nov. 21, 1849), is one illustration of this trait. It was a trait which inspired confidence and accounts in some measure for the exacting demands made upon him constantly. Chiefly, perhaps, the letters reveal the self-sacrificing devotion of the man. Opportu-

nities to acquire wealth presented themselves, but he refused to be diverted from what he believed to be the path of duty.[18] Discouraging factors in his situation were numerous, as illustrated in his statement that he had "never seen a harder task than to get a man to look through a lump of gold into eternity."[19] But in spite of all the difficulties and disappointments, he kept on with his work, serving his fellows in every way possible. There is a striking passage in the letter of October 10, 1849, in which he speaks of the compulsion that moved him to show himself a true "neighbor."[20] There were many who found in Wheeler a friend in need. That this trait persisted through the years is indicated by the statement in the Oakland *Daily Evening Tribune*, concerning the men of the Fifth Infantry Battalion of which he was chaplain: "The soldiers of that regiment loved their chaplain for his kindly ways."[21]

Wheeler died April 16, 1891, and a most impressive funeral service was held at the Masonic Temple in Oakland, the hall being packed long before the time for the service. Two companies of the Fifth Infantry Regiment attended, together with large representations of various Masonic orders, and California pioneers. Further services were held in Sacramento, and his grave is in the old city cemetery of that city.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF SAN FRANCISCO

From the New York *Recorder*,
V (July 25, 1849), 65.

San Francisco, March 16, 1849

Mr. Editor:—You will join us in expressions of gratitude to God for the safe and happy termination of our long, tedious voyage. After pioneering the way over a new route, nearly eight thousand miles, we dropped anchor in the beautiful harbor of San Francisco on the morning of the 28th of February, at about half past ten o'clock—twenty eight days from Panama, sixty-two from Chagres, ninety from New York. Never did the sun rise on a more interested company than ours, and never did a more beautiful morning smile upon the close of a pioneer voyage. . . . As we rounded the point of land which secludes the town from the view of those passing directly into the bay, the assembled multitudes . . . greeted us with a thousand huzzas, while the magnificent "line of battle ship" Ohio[22] bade us "good morning" with a double broadside, which was echoed by three other men-of-war. This seems to have been a sort of signal for all hands to "charge," for such a rush of boats as surrounded us, and such hosts of men as boarded us, indicated at least an eye to the "spoils." Had we not stopped at Monterey and received dispatches from here, we should have been sadly disappointed to learn that there was not comfortable lodging to be found in the entire place for the eight ladies whom we had on board. But we were prepared for it, and of course took it in all good nature. Some of our ladies were invited to take lodgings on board the "Ohio," while others

remained on board the steamer a few days till shelter was either built, bought, or hired for them on shore. But what think you of a town so crowded that single rooms, in the *garret*, without an article of furniture, and only twelve by ten feet, rent for *one hundred dollars per month?* . . . where numbers of men lie drunk in the streets every day; where nearly every public place is the gateway to death, all the pavements of the streets made of broken bottles, which have been emptied to make room for greater numbers; and only one small place of worship[23] (seating about one hundred and fifty) for six or seven thousand souls? . . .There is no law, or order, no government. Oh! that Congress could have left the slavery question to be settled *here*, and given us a government. Let the people here decide the question, and California will never wither under the blighting curse. Had Congress known that the mineral wealth of this territory was not equalled on the globe; that the precious metals by *tons* were carried to other nations; that to govern, protect and secure California, was of more value than all the offices east of the Rocky Mountains multiplied by all the funds of the Union, methinks we should have had a government. But of these things others will write, and hence I will not pursue them further. More than fifty thousand souls here need the Gospel, and in ten months that number will be doubled; and there are but five ministers in the territory, if we except those trading, speculating, gold-digging preachers, who violate their ordination vows, disgrace themselves, and bring odium upon the Christian name.[24] When shall the number be doubled, tripled, quadrupled? There are several places, of considerable magnitude and great promise, where the people would gladly sustain a man who would labor faithfully for their souls. . . .

CONDITIONS IN SAN FRANCISCO

To the American Baptist Home Mission Society;
published in *Christian Watchman and Christian Reflector,*
XXX (Aug. 9, 1849), 126.

San Francisco, March 17 [19], 1849

Yesterday we commenced holding public worship in a small, unfinished building, without doors or windows, pulpit, or even a table.[25] It was cold and windy, but with short notice we collected a congregation to whom I was permitted to preach of the preciousness of Christ to those who believe. . . .

The world has seen no parallel to the state of things here. Its temporal features others have attempted, and others still will attempt to describe. There is no exaggeration in the statements made of mineral wealth in the country, or the opportunities to rapidly accumulate fortunes. Worldly wealth has been offered me in two different directions, requiring but a few steps in the paths of either; but they would divert me, in a considerable degree, from the work of the ministry, and to that I cannot consent. Money

alone can neither preach the Gospel or distribute the Bible; and without them men will not be saved.

. . .

Rents are enormously high, mere *huts* ten by twelve feet, without chimneys, rent for $100 per month, and scores of them would bring that price to-day, if they were here. We have information of large numbers of buildings being framed in the Atlantic cities to be sent us on speculation, which may, *possibly*, reduce rents a little, but they cannot, materially, for a long time. . . . These circumstances cause us much embarrassment. We need a house, and if we had one we should be relieved of our principal temporal difficulty. Mrs. W. is willing to perform much of the domestic labor of the interior, and it would not interfere with my missionary labor to act the part of gardener, marketman, hewer of wood and drawer of water, out of doors. Can a house be sent us?

To the American Baptist Home Mission Society;
published in *Home Mission Record,* I (Sept. 1849), 3.

San Francisco, June 1, 1849

On entering my field I found but one public room in the town, and that was occupied three times on the Sabbath. Building materials and labor bore such a price as to preclude the possibility of erecting a building of any sort, and even a tent of sufficient dimensions to accommodate a hundred people would have cost at least $250; hence I was obliged to wait till a Christian brother's house could be put in a condition to occupy for the purpose of public worship. This required more time than we anticipated. You have but little idea how slow men work when they are paid sixteen dollars a day. It was fitted up at length, and we now occupy it to the best advantage we can, for public worship and a Sabbath school which we have just commenced, but we need one, already far more commodious.

The accommodation I now enjoy for my family, would command a rent of $250 per month, though very small when compared with such as can be procured in New York for $40 per month. They are provided by a good brother residing in the place.

It is impossible for me to describe, or you to conceive of, the state of society here. An intense excitement constantly pervades the community, growing out of the abundance of gold around us, and tending to hurry them onward in almost every pursuit of life, too frequently, without proper reference to the moral character of their acts. . . . This state of things affects the religious interests of the place very unfavorably: and yet there is a peculiar sort of interest in religion very prevalent. All seem glad to have ministers here, and all speak encouragingly of establishing churches. When things get better arranged among us, I think large congregations will be collected.

Although I am called upon, almost daily, to visit the rising towns in the territory, I can scarcely leave this place at all; the continual arrivals and frequent cases of sickness and death demand my constant attendance and unremitting toil. . . .

RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

To the *Christian Watchman and Christian Reflector,*
XXX (Aug. 23, 1849), 134.

San Francisco, June 20, 1849

You will be happy to know that my place of worship (two large parlors,) is crowded with an auditory of the most interesting and intelligent persons which New England and New York has ever sent out. Our prospects are as bright as we could expect. Our health as good as we could ask, and our work as abundant as we can do. But I am yet alone, so far as our denomination is concerned, while the Presbyterians have *six* ministers already in the field, at work. Send us help and pray for our success.

So far as I am able to learn, men who are honest, industrious, sober and prudent, in the mines, are accumulating with great rapidity.

P.S. Please say to your numerous readers that I speak on behalf of myself and very many friends when I request all correspondents who wish their letters to reach us to *mail them.* If sent by private hands they may, and they may not, (most probably the latter,) reach us within six months, if ever.

THE CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY

To the Editor, New York *Recorder,*
V (Aug. 22, 1849), 82.

San Francisco, June 20, 1849

Mr. Editor:— . . . I think I promised that I would tell you something about the country when I knew something to tell. . . *Religiously* considered, this territory is in a most deplorable condition. In this place of ten thousand souls there is but one minister beside myself, who is devoted to his calling; and one other who is engaged in teaching a primary school. At Monterey and at Benicia there are two ministers whose business is teaching, but who preach on the Sabbath. At San Jose there are two, one a preacher and the other a teacher. Thus we see that there are but three men in this vast country who "give themselves wholly to the work of the ministry." The Presbyterians have six of the seven I mentioned, and the Baptists have one; the Methodists and Episcopalians have as yet none. And there is not the semblance of a Protestant church edifice in the whole land.[26]

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

To the New York *Recorder,*
V (Sept. 19, 1849), 98.

San Francisco, August 1, 1849

I have waited till about 10 o'clock P.M. in order to give you the news to the latest moment. The mail "closed" three hours since, and the steamer

California is to be off in the morning. This has been our election day, in consequence of which the steamer remains until tomorrow. The election is of vast importance, as it not only fills the offices for a provisional Government, but sends delegates to a Convention for the framing of a State Constitution. And this, like everything else here, has exhibited a perfect mass of confusion. Four or five tickets have been run, and yet without any lines or party distinctions whatever. And yet all has passed off pleasantly, and free from the first semblance of a row. The canvassing is not yet completed, and we have no magnetic wires to bring us the news from other districts; hence I cannot tell you whether or not our delegation will interdict slavery in the Constitution.

There is a rapid increase of business, and a vast amount of money in circulation. Such heaps of gold and silver I had never anticipated the sight of.

Building is an absorbing business at present, and yet rents are on the increase! As good a tenement as either of the four stories of your dwelling, would not remain a day unoccupied at $200 per month. Ground rent in any of the business portions of the town is higher than in Wall street or Broadway. This state of things must bring its consequences. Darkness follows the setting sun with no more certainty than ruin will such a state of things.

Ships, of which the Atlantic is proud, are now lying useless upon the bosom of our harbor, and many of them without the shadow of a prospect of ever getting away.[27]

Morally and religiously considered, this place is no less anomalous. Multitudes of young men who bore with them from their Eastern homes the fairest reputation and the fondest hopes, are here thrown into the whirlpool of confusion, this maelstrom of evil, to be heard from no more, unless by some fortuitous chance, or Providential interference. . . . They seem to wake up when I take them by the arm, and point them to their footing already giving way. They will sign the pledge, abjure gambling, renounce profanity, and promise a new, a reformed course of life. But unaided by the restraints of an organized moral and religious community, they soon return to all their vice with renewed energy. . . . Funerals of such young men are not unfrequent,—some even refusing to give any information from which the residence of parents or friends can be learned.

. . . I love my work, but have never seen a harder task than to get a man to look through a lump of gold into eternity. It is more like beating the air, like contending with the elements, like confining the tide or stilling the tempest, than I have hitherto supposed could possibly exist. Men come to church and pay more than respectful, serious, and interested attention to all the services, and go away expressing their joy at such an unexpected privilege. But to the inquiry, "How did you enjoy the exercises?" the

listener most likely replies, "Rising, sir! fifty per cent higher than the same rooms rented for last month." "Were you not interested in the church music?" "I am somewhat interested—that is, I have about a dozen lots; and, sir, eight of them are worth $20,000 each." Meet a religious (?) man, and invite him to the place of worship on the Sabbath, and ten to one he will forget himself and say, "Should be very happy to call upon you, sir, and will, if I have time; but I am so hurried! I have come here to make a fortune and go home, you know, as soon as possible." "But it was to *church* I invited you!" "O yes! I beg pardon, but I cannot give you much, I am poor—have just come out here to get a few thousands for the support of my family." . . .

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. In its own words, "A semi-monthly paper, devoted to the religious interests of the Pacific Coast." It began publication in 1880 under Baptist auspices with Rev. Granville S. Abbott as editor.

2. This was printed under the title, *The Story of Early Baptist History in California,* (n. p., n. d.).

3. On Aug. 13, 1883, Maj. Horace D. Randlett commissioned Wheeler chaplain of the Fifth Infantry Battalion of the California National Guard, with the rank of captain. See Oakland *Daily Evening Tribune,* Apr. 17, 1891.

4. *Idem.*

5. Later, Colgate University. See Colgate University, *General Catalog,* I-II (1937-39).

6. An interesting account of his decision to go to California is given by Wheeler in *Story of Early Baptist History . . .,* op. cit., pp. 11 ff. For a full report of his farewell meeting in New York City, see the New York *Recorder* of Dec. 6, 1848.

7. The difficulties of the journey are set forth in Levi Stowell's diary, ed. by Marco G. Thorne, which begins in this issue of the QUARTERLY. See, likewise, *First Steamship Pioneers,* edited by the Committee of the Association and apparently prepared under Wheeler's direction, which was published in San Francisco in 1874.

8. A brief account of the arrival of the *California* appeared in the *Alta California* on March 1, 1849; Wheeler describes it in his letter of March 16, 1849, which follows; also in his *Story of Early Baptist History . . ., op. cit.,* p. 15.

9. *Records* of the First Baptist Church, San Francisco, pp. 2 ff. These are the originals, excellently preserved, and in the possession of the church.

10. Frank Soulé *et al., Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), p. 679. See also *First SS. Pioneers, op. cit.,* p. 317; and W. W. Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California, 1846-1936* (Berkeley, 1937), p. 37.

11. The *Banner* was published for one year only; file in library of Berkeley Baptist Divinity School.

12. Baptist Historical Society of California, "Minutes," in *Proc. Gen. Baptist Convention of California, 1891,* p. 81. See also *First SS. Pioneers, op. cit.,* p. 329.

13. Oakland *Enquirer,* Apr. 17, 1891; *First SS. Pioneers, op. cit.,* p. 332.

14. Leland Stanford, president of the Central Pacific Co., had attended Wheeler's church in Sacramento. See *Morning Times, Oakland,* Apr. 18, 1891.

15. Society of California Pioneers, *Obituaries,* I, 117.

16. See, for example, the *Morning Times,* Oakland, Apr. 17 and 20, 1891; Oakland *Enquirer,* Apr. 17 and 20, 1891; Oakland *Daily Evening Tribune,* Apr. 17 and 20, 1891; the *Weekly Bee,* Sacramento, Apr. 22, 1891; Sacramento *Daily Record-Union,* Apr. 18, 1891.

17. *Weekly Bee,* Apr. 22, 1891.

18. See, for example, the letter of March 17, 1849.

19. Letter of Aug. 1, 1849. 20. See also letter of Sept., 1849.

21. Oakland *Daily Evening Tribune,* Apr. 17, 1891.

22. The flagship of the U. S. Pacific Squadron, commanded by Comdre. Thomas A. Catesby Jones.

23. This was the Public Institute on Portsmouth Square. Regular services were conducted by Rev. Timothy Dwight Hunt, who began his duties as city chaplain on Nov. 2, 1848. For information on early ministers and their work, see Clifford M. Drury, "A Chronology of Protestant Beginnings in California," this QUARTERLY, XXVI (June 1947), 163-74.

24. Wheeler (*Story of Early Baptist History . . ., op. cit.,* p. 19) declared: "Between the 1st of April, 1849, and the 1st of August, 1850, I counted and registered forty-six men, all wearing vestments and claiming the character of Baptist ministers in good standing, who arrived at San Francisco and passed through to the mines."

25. This was a house belonging to Charles L. Ross, who was mentioned in the introduction to these letters. The date was Sunday, March 18; hence the bracketed correction in the above superscription. For Ross and his efforts in behalf of Wheeler's work, see the latter's *Story of Early Baptist History . . ., op. cit.,* pp. 22 ff.; also *First SS. Pioneers, op. cit.,* pp. 18, 314-15.

26. See Drury, *op. cit.,* p. 169, entry for Aug. 5, 1849; also Wheeler's letter of Oct. 20, 1849, transcribed later.

27. Vessels in San Francisco Bay were compelled to remain idle, because the crews had deserted to go to the mines.

"On the Lookout."

(Where the Deadly Highbinder Holds Forth.)

From the artist's *Lights and Shadows of Chinatown*

(San Francisco: published by Mrs. Kate Bode, c1896)

Chinese Highbinder Societies in California

By Hart H. North

In February 1898, I was appointed United States commissioner of immigration for the states of California and Nevada.

At that time the enforcement of the immigration laws was under the direction of the Treasury Department, and I was asked by Secretary Lyman J. Gage to investigate and report upon the purposes and operations of so-called Chinese highbinder tongs or societies, particularly in relation to their dealings in Chinese slave girls within the United States. With this object in view, I called upon Isaiah W. Lees, who was then chief of police in San Francisco and had been connected with the local police force in one capacity or another for about fifty years immediately preceding.

He informed me that following the defeat of the T'ai-P'ing rebels by Charles George ("Chinese") Gordon in 1864, a number of them fled for their lives and sought refuge here, where they were received with open arms by many of the local Chinese, who had sympathized with their resistance against the imperialist regime and at first generously furnished the means for their subsistence. A considerable number took advantage of this friendly spirit. They sought no means of self-support; and when the voluntary subscriptions gradually grew less, they resorted to blackmail and extortion, going so far as to organize courts presided over by judges, by whose direction bailiffs seized and brought before these pseudo courts merchants and other Chinese of financial standing, who were required to contribute under threat of dire penalties. Our police authorities succeeded in stopping such high-handed doings, and drove the perpetrators under cover, where they broke up into rival bands and vied with each other in the levying and collection of blackmail from their Chinese brethren.

As an inducement to give, each of these bands guaranteed its contributors protection against the demands of rival tongs, and this inevitably led to fights between the warriors of the several bands. At first they fought largely with knives, cleavers and hatchets (thus the name "hatchet men"); later, bull-dog revolvers of large caliber and short barrels came into use—all of which were weapons that could be easily concealed in the voluminous sleeves then usually worn by the Chinese. Also it was common for the actual killer to be closely followed by a "stooge," to whom the weapon would be immediately passed, thus removing incriminating evidence from the possession of the assassin, in the event of his arrest at the scene of the crime. If this stooge was captured, he, or in the event of his conviction, his family in China, would receive an agreed compensation. These tongs spread up

and down the Pacific coast, and east to Chicago and New York, but San Francisco was always the principal base.

In addition to blackmail, the highbinders took up the control and protection of gambling, which has always been very popular with the Chinese; also the importation of and dealing in Chinese girls, mostly for purposes of prostitution. In order to combat the latter, the women of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches established rescue homes in the Chinese quarter of San Francisco, and were successful in the course of years in saving many a young girl from a dreadful fate.

This briefly describes the highbinder situation at the time instructions reached me to conduct an investigation.

At the suggestion of Chief Lees, a statement in the form of questions and answers was taken from Police Lieut. William Price, a very able and fearless officer, who had been on the police force twenty-one years and had commanded the Chinatown police detail for about two. Also Chief Lees furnished, for transmission to Washington, D. C., some of the paraphernalia the police had seized from time to time, including cleavers, hatchets, swords, and even a set of chain armor. The latter was worn under a padded coat, common at that time among the Chinese. The statements of the ladies of the rescue homes,* of missionaries and of many rescued girls, were also taken, running in all into several hundred pages and entirely too voluminous for this article, heart-rending though they are. The testimony of Lieutenant Price, however, covers most of the activities of these nefarious outfits, and accordingly it has been selected for publication here.

Notwithstanding this investigation and the information obtained, the tongs continued their depredations and internecine strife for many years. One personal experience is interesting as showing their methods. It occurred about the year 1914, at a time that I was visiting a ranch I then owned on the highway from Sacramento to Monticello, a small town in Napa County. A highbinder war was raging in San Francisco. Late one afternoon a Ford car, driven by a white man, the only visible occupant, but with the curtains drawn so as to hide any rear-seat passengers, stopped for a moment and inquired road directions. Somewhat later I went to Monticello for the mail, and just outside the town I passed the same car, drawn up by the roadside. At this period there were only two Chinese living in Monticello: one conducted a small laundry and the other, an old man, was and had been for several years a cook at the local hotel. There were several people at the post office, including the constable to whom I was talking, when this old Chinese came up in great excitement. He told us that many years before,

*Mrs. Kate B. Lake, matron of the Methodist-Episcopal Chinese Mission, testified on Aug. 29, 1898; and Miss Donaldina Cameron, matron of the Presbyterian Chinese Rescue Home, on Sept. 2, 1898.

he had belonged to one of the tongs now at war, but had long since severed his connection with the organization. Nevertheless he had recently been warned that an enemy tong was after him, and that their gunmen might attack him any moment. The constable offered to lock him up for the night in the town jail, if he wished it, as he would be safe from attack there. The old fellow—a fatalist, no doubt—refused and returned to the laundry which he occupied with the laundryman. During the night, two Chinese, who had been concealed in the covered Ford, broke into the laundry, tied up the laundryman, held the other flat on the floor, and drove a short bladed Japanese sword through his midriff, pinning him to the floor; and they left his poor body in that position.

Again, about thirty years ago, a number of important Chinese merchants, acting under the guidance of the late Capt. Robert Dollar, organized a company to operate a line of steamships between San Francisco and the Orient. One of these was Fong Wing, an old and valued friend of mine. He told me one day that the highbinders were endeavoring to make the company pay tribute for the privilege of doing business. I asked him if he was not personally afraid of being harmed. His reply was that for many years he had paid "protection" money to all the tongs, hence he felt safe. However, in late December 1918, he was shot down by two assassins in front of his place of business on Waverly Place. This deed created much excitement, and led to my employment by Captain Dollar to draw up legislation which, when made into law by Congress, might go far toward curbing the activities of these organizations. When word of this reached the highbinders, it resulted in their threatening the other directors of Fong Wing's steamship company to the extent that they appealed to Captain Dollar and to me, to take no further steps lest it cost their lives, and consequently nothing further was attempted.

During the past twenty-five years highbinderism has gradually subsided; at least, its murderous proclivity is perhaps non-existent. What has caused this change, is a matter of opinion. My own conclusion is that two factors are largely responsible: first, that the killers, growing old, have either died or returned to their native land; and again, that the large population of American born Chinese, mostly from the better class, educated in our public schools and growing up with American ideas and associations, has gradually forced out and overcome this old criminal element.

Lieutenant Price's statement was made in answer to questions put to him by me, in my official capacity as commissioner. Five or six years previously, he had been at the head of raids conducted under the order of Chief Crowley; during these raids, the lieutenant said, the headquarters of twenty-six societies had been demolished. Mention was made particularly of the Chee Kung Tong (also known as the Triad Society), "the original of all the tongs." Continuing, Lieutenant Price testified as follows:

Statement of Lieutenant of Police William Price
San Francisco, September 22, 1898

. . . *Q.* Are all the other societies offshoots from this society [the Chee Kung Tong]? *A.* Yes; the same as other societies organized here and having branches in other places. *Q.* What is the purpose of organizing these societies? Are they all organized for the same purpose, or some for one purpose and some for another? *A.* All the Chinese highbinder societies are organized for the purpose of murder. *Q.* From what do they derive their chief sources of revenue? *A.* Through means of blackmail, and houses of prostitution. *Q.* Do they conduct gambling houses themselves? *A.* Yes. *Q.* That would be a third source of revenue? *A.* Yes. *Q.* Are the majority of frequenters of gambling houses in Chinatown members of the highbinder societies? *A.* A great many merchants have come to me in the middle of the night to give me information concerning these gambling houses. These merchants are obliged to belong to these societies for the sake of protection; they can not get out of it. Although belonging to the societies, they are always willing to furnish me with information to aid in my breaking them up, but they would not be seen speaking to me on the street. *Q.* They are members of the highbinder societies in fact, but not in spirit? *A.* Yes; that is the case. *Q.* That I suppose applies to the majority of the members of the highbinder societies, does it not? *A.* Not to the majority, but to a good many of the merchants.

Q. How do they conduct their blackmail operations? *A.* They hire places similar to this office and have their names printed on sign boards and hung outside, such as Chee Kung Tong, Suey On Tong, Bow Sing Suey Tong, Suey Sing Tong, Hop Sing Tong, Suey Dung Tong, etc. *Q.* Do you know whether all these societies have branches in other cities of the United States? *A.* That, of course, I do not know positively; I have only heard of them. I believe there are branches of these societies in Los Angeles, San Jose, and throughout the east, Chicago, New York, etc. . . . *Q.* You were telling about the rooms, or offices fitted up by these societies? *A.* Their places are finely fitted up, the same as club rooms. There they meet, as other organizations do. If a member has anything against another man, he places his case before the society and offers so much money to have the man killed. After they have settled on the man to be killed, his head is as good as gone. They hold a meeting and have something filled with balls, buttons or beans, or something of the sort. The men are blindfolded and draw; if one draws the certain amount, he is chosen to do the killing. Sometimes there are two or three chosen, generally two. As soon as they draw those balls they are in the same fix as a man to be hung. The society's rules are so binding that those chosen are bound to kill that man if there are twenty policemen about when he meets him. *Q.* These men who draw

the lot go out and hunt up the victim and kill him wherever he may be found? *A.* According to the rules of the society they then go and fix up whatever little business they have, the same as a white man would make his will before going on a journey. Then they go out and hunt their victim. According to their rules, the society hires an attorney for the murderer to defend him in the courts, and does everything possible to aid in his acquittal, furnishing witnesses, etc. Perhaps the murderer is caught, arrested, tried and sentenced to death, and executed; then the society has to pay so much money to the relatives in China. If the man is hanged they will probably pay his relatives $500; if he is imprisoned for life, $250. If imprisoned for a shorter time, $100. And this is the same in every case that is brought before the society.

Q. Do you know how much a member of the society pays as a rule for having a man killed? *A.* All the society can get from him; no certain amount. Some people are willing to pay more and some less. Little Pete who was killed, was wealthy, and there was about $3,000 or $4,000 on his head. *Q.* His enemies had offered that to anybody who would kill him? *A.* He was a Sam Yup. The Sam Yups are what you call the aristocracy; there is only one Sam Yup to every fifteen See Yups. The See Yups are small merchants here, keep laundries, and are people of that class. The Sam Yups own large stores. *Q.* They are regularly organized, the Sam Yups and the See Yups, are they not? And are they members of those tongs? *A.* Of course they have members in those tongs. They are from different provinces in China, two clans, as it were, the same as in Scotland, or England. All these people claim to be cousins. *Q.* These classes fight then among themselves, do they? *A.* They fight all the time. There has been a boycott for four or five years to prevent a See Yup buying from a Sam Yup and vice versa. If a See Yup is found buying from a Sam Yup, he is taken in the street, his purchase taken from him; he is then conducted to one of these societies and is fined $2.00, and probably gets a good thrashing besides. Every time a man is brought up the arresting officer of the highbinder society gets $2.00, so they are very vigilant in consequence. *Q.* Little Pete belonged to the Sam Yups, and was one of the richest Chinamen in town, was he not? *A.* Not one of the richest, but very rich. . . . *Q.* Why was it that Little Pete was killed? Was it at the instigation of the Sam Yups or See Yups? *A.* The See Yups. *Q.* What had he done to the See Yups? *A.* Of course, as I say, there are two factions that are all the time fighting. Little Pete was a very intelligent Chinaman, and they accused him of informing the police, on account of raids made by them,—which he did as a matter of fact. *Q.* And accordingly there was a price put on his head? *A.* Yes. *Q.* He was accompanied by a bodyguard for a great many years, was he not? . . . *A.* He had four or five at least; three Chinamen and two

white men. About seven o'clock one evening Little Pete came downstairs accompanied by a white man of his bodyguard. Little Pete kept a shoe shop, underneath which was a barber shop. He entered the barber shop and told his bodyguard (the white man) to go down to the corner of Kearny and Washington Sts. and get him an evening paper. He sat down on a chair. Chinamen had been watching him, and he was no sooner seated than they came right into the barber shop and shot him. *Q.* Did they convict these men? *A.* They never got the right parties; I was told that the parties that did the killing went to China on the next steamer.

Q. This is only a fair example of highbinder methods, is it not? *A.* That is an idea of the whole business. . . . you see, the merchants are so entirely under the control of these societies, and are so dominated by fear, that any demand that is made upon them, they pay without question. I will tell you of an instance of this: There was a butcher on Washington St. One evening he threw out a little clean water onto the street. A Chinese highbinder who was standing near by, got the water on the sleeve of his coat. I happened to be there at the time, and when I had passed by, this highbinder went to the butcher and demanded $100 for the offense, and said that he would call again. I told the butcher not to pay that money, but to make an arrangement to meet him at a certain place and I would be there. He promised to do so, and would you believe it, before I got back there, he had paid the highbinder the $100. That is to show you that anything these highbinders demand they get.

Q. I suppose the amount of revenue that the highbinder societies exact from these merchants is simply tremendous? *A.* I would say that there are about 3,000 Chinese highbinders of this city just living in that way; they do not do anything for a living, except levy blackmail. *Q.* What do you suppose to be the total Chinese population in this city now? *A.* About 35,000. *Q.* And three thousand of them are nothing but cut-throats and bad men? *A.* The worst class of people on the face of the earth. *Q.* They never interfere with white people, do they? *A.* Not very often. The Chinese Consul talks to them constantly on that point. They are afraid of an uprising of the white people against them, and that they would all be killed, and this fear keeps them from doing so. *Q.* Do you know of any instance of their killing white people, or of their levying blackmail on white people? *A.* Not very often do they attack white people, and only then when under the influence of liquor. *Q.* These highbinders are very much given to securing perjured testimony, are they not? *A.* It is an impossibility to rely on them. For instance, a man is killed; I am sent to investigate; a man is pointed out to me as the murderer and positively identified as such, and I have positive evidence that that man was not within five blocks of the scene at the time of the murder. I arrested the man, as my duty as a police officer compelled me to do so, but I knew the man to have

been in a shop on one street when the other man was murdered on another. However, when taken into court, it was proved that he was not the murderer and was acquitted, and afterwards the right party was secured.

Q. They are also largely engaged in furnishing perjured testimony to aid in the landing of Chinese girls here, are they not? *A.* Yes. One of the by-laws in all these highbinder societies is to swear to aid in the landing of their people here, especially Chinese women. *Q.* I have taken the statements of a number of rescued Chinese girls at the missions. . . . Most of these girls claim to have seen the killing of some of their number, or to have seen their bodies after they have been killed. *A.* I don't know much about the killing of these girls; they are too expensive to kill. *Q.* Those who have been killed were generally old girls? *A.* When they grow old, they are usually placed as cooks. These girls are never seen on the street, unless followed by an old hag who keeps the house. These girls are worth about $3,000 and are too valuable to kill. *Q.* They are absolute slaves, are they not? *A.* Every single one of them. *Q.* And were it not for the highbinder societies, it would be impossible to keep them in such absolute slavery, would it not? *A.* They could not do it at all. The highbinder societies derive their principal source of revenue from protecting these houses.

Q. Can you tell a highbinder from another Chinaman, when you see him? *A.* I can walk on the street and pick them out and never make a mistake. *Q.* How can you detect them from any other Chinaman? *A.* They used to dress differently and wear their hair differently. *Q.* Their hair is not so neatly kept,—more fluffy—than other Chinamen, is it not? *A.* That is right at the end of the cue where it joins the hair; and then they used to wear different kind of shoes and different kind of hats (round, stiff brimmed hats). When they found that I had discovered their mode of dress, they stopped wearing what might designate them as highbinders. Then again, in searching these men, one would invariably find a little piece of red silk in his possession. On that silk was printed what society he was a member of, so that in case of death or accident he could be identified. Then they did away with that and we could not find anything to distinguish them.

Q. I have [heard] it rumored a good many times that the Chinese Consul, the predecessor of the present incumbent, was obliged to leave the city, largely through the threats of the Chinese highbinder societies. *A.* That is true. I used to know him well, and spent much time with him, seeking information concerning the workings of these societies, which he was always willing to give me. I do not remember his name. Mr. King, the V.-Consul, also assisted me greatly in this work. . . . *Q.* What became of Mr. King? *A.* He was also driven out of the city, through the firm of ————— ————, attorneys for the highbinder class, in Chinatown. Riordan was the attorney for the Chinese Consul and Six Companies. The Consul-

General and Vice-Consul King were always in favor of breaking up these societies, so the hinghbinder societies had them removed.

Q. Have you any idea as to what laws might be passed by the United States Government, which would help to break up these societies? *A.* When I was first sent into the Chinatown district, in 1888, things were in a very bad condition; there was hardly a day that someone was not killed, even white people, killed by accident, as shot was flying everywhere. One afternoon there were seventy-five shots fired on the street from one faction directed toward another faction. I went to Chief Crowley and told him that I could do nothing; that there were no laws to cover these things. I said to him: "When any of these Chinamen commit deeds of violence, they run into the numerous small alleys of Chinatown, and get beyond our reach, and after being once lost sight of, it is impossible to identify them, unless by some peculiar mark about him. These societies are unlawful, and organized for unlawful purposes. They do not recognize our laws, and to compete with them we have to go beyond our present laws; they are not sufficient. I can put a stop to these societies, if you will give me my own way." He said: "I am under bonds here and of course they will sue me if I do as you suggest." I said "All right." I saw the Chinese Consul and he spoke to the chief of police, and also told me to use my own judgment, assuring the Chief that if he should be sued, he (the Consul) or the Chinese Government would stand the consequences. The Chief sent for me and said that he thought my ideas were all right, and gave me permission to carry them out in my own way.

I then went out and got seven or eight strong, healthy officers and we visited all these places, taking down the numbers, and setting out in the right way to get into the workings of these societies. There are a great many different societies in Chinatown, some being organized for charitable purposes, benevolent societies as it were, and in order to be sure that I had the right places, and not to make any mistakes, I took plenty of time and care, as I did not want to interfere with any but the genuine highbinder societies. When I had everything arranged, I got sixteen men in uniform and a surgeon and supplied them all with axes. We marched from one to another of these societies and literally cut them to pieces; did not leave a bit of furniture five inches long in one of them. I suppose we broke up about $180,000 worth of property. Some of these places were fixed up magnificently. Wherever we went we got arms, ammunition, bowie knives two feet long in blade, iron bars done up in braided cord, etc., also chain and steel armor that they wear under their clothing, and which it is utterly impossible to penetrate.

Q. At that time, any of the highbinders that you found in these rooms, you kicked down stairs, did you not? *A.* We did. Of course, by breaking up their meeting places, they could not meet. Among the better class of

Chinese who belonged to these societies through fear, or for self-protection, we were held in favor for what we had done. Everything they could do to aid me they did. They could not meet me in Chinatown, but came to my home in hacks at night to inform me where I could find these men. I was so well posted in the situation of Chinatown that they could not open their rooms, or offices in any place. We broke up their josses,—they always have josses in these places; one of them they brought from China and was worth $700 or $800. I broke up one of these and the friendly Chinese were so superstitious that they feared I would die. One came to me and said he was very sorry; they liked me very much, but I would die in three days. One of my men caught cold and his eyes became inflamed. One of these men came to me and said, "Soon he will be blind." Three days before the Chinese New Year I met this man and said to him, "You see I am not dead yet." He said, "New Year surely you die." New Year came and I was not dead, and he said they must get a new joss; that one had been no good.

At the Hop Sing Tong I gave them an hour to move their fixings and prepare for our coming. This was a building four stories high, an immense place, and I suppose the building and furnishings cost $30,000 or $40,000, and perhaps $100,000. This was owned by the highbinder society. They owned two or three such places, the property and all. I notified them that I would give them three hours to move their things out of the building. I went back in three hours, at six o'clock, and they had nothing moved. They saw I meant business, and they tried to save the joss, which was very heavy. In moving it some old boards underneath creaked, and they went down those stairs like mad, thinking the joss had spoken, and if you had offered one of those men $10,000 he would not go up those stairs again. There were seven josses in that one building, and we tore the whole thing to pieces.

Q. The result of those forays was to disperse those highbinder societies, was it not? *A.* It was done so that they would not have any meeting places. I went around to all the stores, houses of prostitution, and places of that kind in Chinatown and notified these people that if I found out that they were aiding these highbinder societies in any way, manner or form, by giving them money, I would demolish their places. If they wanted protection, I would furnish it to them; if one officer would not do, we would give them forty, but if I found out that any of them had paid any money to these societies, I would break up everything they had. In this way several of the societies were driven out of town, and for about three years there was not a Chinaman killed in the city. I followed the thing up every day, and if a sign-board were put up to denote the meeting place of one of these societies, we would split it up in a thousand pieces. This was the means of disbanding them altogether; they then went to other cities. If this method had been kept up, we would not have this trouble at all. *Q.* The reason it was not kept up was because suit was commenced in the United States

court against the Chief of Police and raiding officers and everybody who was concerned in these raids, was it not? *A.* The attorneys for the Chinese highbinders raised a large amount of money to carry on these suits, and bothered the Chief of Police a great deal. It kept us going all the time; the cases were first conducted in our courts, then taken to the United States courts. If these people were convicted as gamblers in the lower courts, they were taken into the United States courts, and acquitted.

Q. Then in brief, you think that if some laws were passed whereby protection would be granted to the officers in their raids, and power given them to demolish these places as fast as they appeared, it would be the means of completely effacing these highbinder societies, do you not? *A.* Yes. . . . *Q.* I suppose if they could be deported if found to be highbinders, and sent back to China, this would have some effect. *A.* If they are convicted as thieves and murderers they can be deported, but not otherwise. . . .

Q. I suppose, Lieutenant, that you keep pretty well posted through the papers and from information received at headquarters, in regard to the criminal doings in the United States of all kinds? *A.* Yes. *Q.* You are pretty well posted on the doings of the Clan Na Gael, Mafia, and so on. Now do you think that any of these societies in the United States, in regard to the strength of organization, number of crimes and the wealth of the society can in any way compare to the highbinder tongs in San Francisco? *A.* Of course in these other societies there are not so many people congregated together as with the Chinese. You see they live all together and apart from the rest of the city. *Q.* Is it not a fact that there are five murders among the Chinese to one murder by the Clan Na Gael or Mafia? *A.* There are many murders among the Chinese that we have never heard of. *Q.* As a rough estimate, since 1880, how many murders would you say have been committed by the highbinder societies in San Francisco? *A.* I would say about thirty killed outright; shot down in the streets.

Q. Just tell me what you secured in the way of rules and regulations and other data in regard to the constitution and by-laws and so on. *A.* It was a small book, about one and a half inches thick, square, with gilt edges and illustrated. I took six of them and did not understand thoroughly what they were, although I had an idea that they were the by-laws, and when I got to the office of the Chief of Police they were eagerly seized. I went back to the place with four or five men, and from that day to this I have never been able to find another book. There were then about four hundred of them. *Q.* Were they all the same or different? *A.* All the same. *Q.* From what tong did you secure these books? *A.* The Chee Kung Tong. I have searched Chinatown elsewhere, but have never found another book.

Q. You say there have been only thirty Chinamen killed in this city since 1880. I thought there had been more than that. *A.* Of course there have

been numbers of Chinamen killed in the houses and such places that we have known nothing about, but in the open streets there have been about thirty shot down, alone. *Q.* Those killed in the houses would amount to a much larger number, would they not? *A.* Of course. One night about eleven o'clock, I was on the corner of Spofford Alley and Washington St., when the people were coming out of the Chinese theatre. A shot was fired, and it struck a woman who was passing, in the neck and lodged in the back of her teeth. The shot was intended for a woman, but whether it was this one or not I do not know. The man who fired the shot was not more than one foot away from me, but there were two Chinamen in front of me and two more behind me, and the man turned so quickly and got away into some alley that I could not find him. The woman lived on Sacramento St., and I took her home. I never saw such a brave woman. The bullet was stuck on her back teeth, and I pried it off. The doctor saved her, but her tongue was almost cut off. The doctor fixed her tongue as well as he could, and she lived. *Q.* In that one battle, at the time you speak of, when there were seventy-five or eighty shots fired, were there not five or six men killed? *A.* Two killed, two or three fatally wounded and several others slightly injured. *Q.* I remember reading of five or six killed at one time; am I right about that? *A.* Their shooting was so terribly wild that they did not kill themselves, but white people were not safe.

Q. They have a common habit, I understand, of carrying the pistol in the hand, stuck up in their voluminous sleeve, and going up to a person and shooting him through the sleeve; is that true? *A.* They generally take out the pistol when they shoot, although they carry them very often in their sleeves. Highbinders seldom carry pistols. They are generally accompanied by another person, whom they call "jury," and who belongs to the poorer class of Chinamen. He follows the highbinder and carries the weapon. When caught, we would search the highbinder for a pistol, but would not find anything of the kind on him, and the "jury" would have disappeared with the weapon. The only time the highbinder has a weapon is while leaving his quarters, but on the street, you will not find one. *Q.* Are they not oftentimes called "Hatchetmen"? *A.* The hatchet is a great weapon and the blade is about six inches long. *Q.* A regular cleaver? *A.* A good deal like a lather's hatchet. *Q.* When you said that there were thirty men killed in the streets, you meant men who were shot; that does not include men who were killed by hatchetmen, does it? *A.* They do not use these hatchets very much now; they use knives more, because knives do not make any noise. *Q.* At the time you speak of, a number were killed by hatchetmen and others by pistol shots, were they not? *A.* They are found dead in the houses; most of them are never found and never will be. They bury them themselves. . . . Just to show you, as I said before, how binding their laws are, they were obliged to kill their man whenever they met him, no matter who was about. I had two officers with me at the

time, and there were two more across the street in uniform (we did not usually wear uniform in Chinese quarters). Notwithstanding all this, the murderer walked deliberately out into the middle of the street, and surrounded as he was by all those officers, when it was impossible for a man to escape, he killed his man. So you see he had no fear of us. *Q.* Was he caught red-handed? *A.* He had not any possible chance of escape, and he knew it, but wherever he met his man he was obliged to kill him.

Q. Rev. Mr. Masters has a suggestion that an auxiliary detective force, composed of Chinamen of the respectable class would be a great aid to the regular police force in stopping the operations of the highbinder organizations. Do you think there is anything in that? *A.* It might work if one could come across any Chinamen who are not in fear of these highbinder societies, but I have not found one yet. If you have Chinamen who are afraid to act, they would be of no use. The Chinese have six men acting in that capacity now; some of them are ex-convicts. They are of no use at all. They are supposed to give information concerning these highbinder societies, and they try to get evidence amongst the Chinese, but they have never done anything yet and never will, because they are afraid. *Q.* Do any of the white men who are employed by the Chinese as guards and so on, in Chinatown, ever render any aid to the highbinders? *A.* They destroy the whole business, because they will never give any information to anybody. They are working for these people and shield them. Of course the worst houses pay these guards the most money, so naturally they are willing and glad to work for them. This ought to be done away with by all means. Some of them collect $700 or $800 a month and would not give it up. There were the McLaughlin brothers and a dozen others who are now all rich. As soon as an officer appears, and these guards do not like him, you cannot turn a corner before signals are given, and what can you do?

Q. There has been a great deal of talk about a system of electric bells, and so on, that run through Chinatown, by means of which warnings are given, etc. *A.* You can never catch a Chinaman but once in one way. By the time you are within two blocks of a gambling house, for instance, these signals are given and they know an officer is on their track. Everything is quickly removed and when the officer enters the place, they are sitting there peacefully.

Q. If it were made unlawful to run houses of prostitution, would that help to suppress the highbinder societies? *A.* They could not exist then. Sometimes there are twenty or more men interested in one woman. *Q.* About what proportion would you say of Chinese women that are landed in this country are destined for immoral lives? *A.* Ninety per cent. I would not take one bit off that. They are sold as fast as they can be brought over; there is not a woman who is brought here who is not sold as soon as she arrives. For any young girl that comes here they can get about

$3,000 for. They even fool the missions. They get a Chinaman to go up and marry a girl from the mission, and then they sell her to someone else.

Q. You have not any other suggestions to offer in this matter, have you? There is not anything in connection with highbinders that you have not stated, is there? I do not know just what use the Department will put this to, but they desire to be fully advised on the subject of highbinder organizations. *A.* It is impossible to get to the facts of the case on account of the money amongst them. They are impossible to get along with. The condition of things existing among these people is terrible, and persons who are not brought in contact with them would not understand it at all, nor would they believe it. . . . *Q.* And the respectable Chinese are unable to help it? *A.* They cannot do it. The highbinders are assisted by guides and attorneys. No decent man can afford to come in contact with these people; he cannot afford to get attorneys to defend him in case it is necessary. *Q.* And the fact that they do not bother the white people is what has led these societies to pass unnoticed for so many years, is it? *A.* That is it. Laws should be made to cope with the Chinese. They have organizations in the nature of clubs, and where gambling was formerly done in open places, it is now done under cover of these clubs, which are incorporated under the laws of the State of California. *Q.* When accosted by an officer, they claim to be playing only lawful games, do they not? *A.* An officer has to ring the bell and by the time he enters the place, every evidence of gambling has been put out of sight, and there sits a Chinaman playing a game of Casino, or some other innocent game, when no sooner has the officer left the place than they go on with their faro, tan [fan-tan] games, and so on. There is more gambling now in Chinatown than there has been in a great many years, and all under cover of these incorporated clubs. *Q.* Are you familiar with the environs of the criminal element of New York City? *A.* Not very much so. I have been in New York and on Mott St. where I was recognized by a number of Chinamen who had formerly lived in San Francisco.

Q. All the by-laws that have ever been published by white people have never been so binding as these published by the highbinder societies, have they? *A.* No; especially in regard to the landing of women. *Q.* Some of the laws that you saw had reference to that, had they? *A.* Yes. *Q.* You are not on the Chinatown force now, are you? *A.* No; but whenever they have trouble, they send for me. *Q.* These Chinese wars break out about once in so often, do they not? *A.* Not lately. The last time I was called down there was about a year ago. They have no more respect for our laws than anything in the world. They just laugh at them. I think some law ought to be made to prevent these people from assembling for unlawful purposes. Their places should be kept open, so that passers-by could see into them and know what was going on inside.

Documentary

THIS INDENTURE, Made the Thirty first day of May in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty two *between* Nathaniel Gray of the city and County of San Francisco State of California, of the first part and Anna B. Sutton, wife of John Sutton, of the same city, county, & State of the second part. *WITNESSETH*, That the said party of the first part, for and in consideration of the sum of Four hundred and twenty five Dollars lawful money of the United States of America, to him in hand paid, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, has granted, bargained, sold and conveyed, and by these Presents does grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said party of the second part, and to her heirs and assigns forever, all that certain tract or parcel of land situate in the city of San Francisco aforesaid and described as follows: Viz: Commencing at the South East Corner of Sacramento and Laguna Streets, running thence Southerly along the East line of Laguna Street one hundred and twenty seven feet and eight and one quarter inches, thence at right angles Easterly one hundred and thirty seven feet and six inches, thence at right angles Northerly one hundred and twenty seven feet and eight and one quarter inches to the South line of Sacramento Street, thence at right angles Westerly along the last said line one hundred and thirty seven feet and six inches to the point of commencement, being lot No. 4 Block No. 196, Western Addition.

TOGETHER with all and singular the tenements hereditaments, and appurtenances thereunto belonging, and the rents, issues and profits thereof.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, all and singular the above described premises, together with the appurtenances, unto the said party of the second part, her heirs and assigns forever.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, The said party of the first part, has hereunto set his hand and seal the day and year first above written

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of

[SIGNED] Joseph Clough [SIGNED] Nathaniel Gray

Original in collection of California Historical Society.

Bound for the Land of Canaan, Ho!

*The Diary of Levi Stowell**

With Introduction and Notes

By Marco G. Thorne

THE joyful words of the above title are part of the caption inscribed by the owner on the third flyleaf of his day-book. In full it reads: *Bound for the land of Canaan*[,] *ho!* *L. Stowell*[,] *Washington City*[,] *Nov. 28th* *1848*[,] *For California—Venture*

The day-book is small—about 4¾ x 3 inches. It has several preliminary pages, some blank, some filled with printed calendars and other miscellany; and there are blank pages, also, at the end. The diary itself begins on page 22. Spaces are provided for three daily entries per page with printed guides for the year 1849, such as "Monday, January 1." In the present transcription the printed dates will be given as part of the diary entries. Stowell used the preliminary blank pages and several of those at the back to jot down dates and other information. When they repeat material already given in the entries, these jottings have been omitted.

Occasionally, too, in the small spaces on either side of the printed dates, Stowell wrote comments on the weather or on other matters; and in many entries he underlines promiscuously. His weather comments, etc., will appear immediately following the date, but for the sake of typographic clarity the underlines will be omitted. For the most part he used ink. However, from March 26 to April 19 the writing is in pencil, later traced with ink in his own hand. From April 19 to June 24, pencil is alone used; after that, ink only.

Levi Stowell was born in Colesville, N. Y., in 1820, the sixth child of Levi and Sabrina Cole Stowell of Colesville and Vallonia Springs, N. Y. Levi, Sr., was born in Worcester, Mass., in 1759/60, and belonged to the fifth of the generations descended from Samuel Stowell of Hingham, Mass. Samuel Stowell was born in England and died in America in 1683. Levi, Sr., died in 1829.[1]

In 1848, young Levi was living in Washington, D. C., where he was a carpenter. Among his mechanic friends was Henry Fairfax Williams, a native of Virginia (1828) who had moved to Washington while quite young. Williams was in turn a carpenter, architect, law student and, again, a carpenter, while still under twenty-one; the early death of his father had

*Stowell's diary for 1849 is part of the Borel Collection at Stanford University, California. The version presented here has been adapted from the one prepared by Mr. Thorne while pursuing graduate work at Stanford under the direction of Prof. Edgar E. Robinson, through whom permission to publish has been secured. [Ed.]

forced him to pursue carpentry a second time in order to support his mother.[2]

After reading John C. Frémont's account of California, Williams formed a favorable opinion of the new territory, and he and several of his friends, including Stowell, decided to go to the west coast for the opportunities available to them as builders. According to Williams, none of the group knew anything of the discovery of gold in California, although some rumors of James Marshall's find had penetrated to the East.[3] Through Secretary of the Navy John Y. Mason, a friend of his deceased father, Williams was introduced to Postmaster General Cave Johnson. Johnson, after trying to dissuade Williams, finally obtained tickets for the group from the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which foresaw that San Francisco would have a shortage of mechanics and gave the young men free passage on the first mail voyage to California. The group given gratis passage consisted of Williams, W. S. Burch, John F. Joyce, and Levi Stowell.[4]

Levi Stowell was an active member of the Masons, and, as such, was interested in starting a lodge in California. On Tuesday, November 9, 1848, he and eight other members of the Masons were granted a dispensation for California Lodge No. 13 by B. B. French, the grand master of the grand lodge of the District of Columbia.[5] The petitioners were headed by Samuel Yorke At Lee, who was named right worshipful master of the new lodge. Another of the group of eight was William Van Voorhies, who had been named first postmaster general of California with instructions to establish postal offices and routes in the area.[6]

However, At Lee could not make the trip, so, on November 23, 1848, Stowell was named as royal worshipful master of the new lodge. He was given a dispensation vouching for him personally. His installation as holder of the new position was made by O. J. Preston, right worshipful master of New Jerusalem Lodge No. 9, District of Columbia.[7]

On November 28, 1848, Stowell, Williams, Burch, and Joyce left Washington for New York, taking their tools with them. In New York they boarded the steamer, *Falcon*.[8] Originally, she had been scheduled to sail on December 20, but her sailing date was moved forward to December 1—not because of rumors of the gold discovery in California,[9] but she was due at the Isthmus of Panama in time to allow her passengers to meet the new *SS. California* in Panama City. The *California*, first of a fleet of steamships to operate in the Pacific Ocean for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, had left New York on October 6, 1848, for the Pacific Ocean via the Strait of Magellan. She was due at Panama City on January 5, 1849.[10]

Leaving New York harbor at high noon on December 1, 1848, the *Falcon* moved out of the North River, past the *Oregon* and *Panama*, sister ships of the *California*, and proceeded southward.[11] December 4, after weathering a severe storm, the *Falcon* stopped at Charleston Bay and left on the fifth

for Havana, Cuba, arriving there on December 8. The next day she left Havana, and arrived in New Orleans on December 12.[12] It was there that her passengers heard the first authentic news of the gold discovery in California;[13] but as Gen. Persifer Smith, the military commander of the Pacific Division of the United States, and his staff,[14] had not yet come, the *Falcon* was forced to await their arrival. Meanwhile, word was passed around that the ship was bound for the Isthmus of Panama. In no time she was beset with anxious footloose people headed for the California mines,[15] among them being William P. Waters, a friend of the Stowell-Williams party, who came aboard and joined the group. He was a native of Washington, born in 1826.[16]

The *Falcon* continued her voyage on December 17. Whereas there were 30-40 passengers when the ship left New York, now she had some 200.[17] They arrived at Chagres on the isthmus on December 27. Here the gold seekers found a miserable settlement of 50-odd cane houses, and a hotel that was owned by a Jamaica Negro.[18] But because the first news of the gold discovery reached Chagres only with the ship herself, no provision had been made for taking the passengers across the isthmus to meet the *California.*[18] They did the best they could; canoes, for example, could be hired, but their owners exacted from $40 to $60 for the trip from Chagres to Cruces, 40 miles away.[20] The natives, realizing their sudden value as transportation agents, demanded brandy besides the fee. This resulted in the *Falcon's* passengers brandishing loaded revolvers to help the Indians forget the brandy fee.[21]

Before beginning the diary, it is well to note that Stowell often let the ends of lines, as he wrote them, substitute for punctuation. Where there might be confusion, bracketed punctuation has now been inserted. The reader will recognize Stowell's sense of humor; some of his comments are whimsical, or they may be just "joshes," but the humor is there, undeterred by hardship. The account of Levi Stowell begins at this point.

Monday, January 1. On Chagres river 6 miles below Gargona. rainy. Wild turkey for dinner Very good, much sport. All wet. took possissen of house &c. Stoped at dark at an Indian hut cooked rice & chickens, spilt the soup &c. H.F.W.[illiams] & my self slept in the boat &c. 3. miles b[e]low Gargona fell over board.

Tuesday, January 2. rainy Left early, no breakfast. worked some arrived at Gargona 11. O.Clock a.m. found [John F.] Joyce &c. some trouble with the boatmen, dirty place, no Mules. left, saw Alligators & Monkeys [.] arrived at Cruces,[22] 4 O.clock P.M. Wet tired & hungry. Townes &c.

Wednesday, January 3. Wet & disagreeable, little to Eat; brandy & water; cooked as usual & slept on our baggage Mules scarce, price raising &c. Mr. Lucket died (cholera)[23] but little sleep, all fatigued &c.

Thursday, January 4. Morning pleasant, went in a bathing &c, rainy, Patrick assisted in cooking, kidnaped a chicken &c. Crackers & Coffee. had a Fandango in the eve' [W.S.] Burch played the accordeon, Brooks, Tyler & Others Much sport &c. Made conundrums

Friday, January 5. Aroused early to go & rub Mr. Elliott.[24] H.F.W. and W.S.B. went whilst, others prepared breakfast &c. Burch eat but little. no appitite, laid down after eating, got worse, called in the physician, called in often, all were anxious, & worked hard with him, died 9 O'Clock P.M. Capt E. same time. prayer. &c.—[25]

Saturday, January 6. Slept now myself, overlooked the preparations for the burial, during the night [.] called on the Priest in the morn' obtained a lot for interment. with the same bier used for Capt E. Made of oars We bore his remains to the Church, then to the grave, prayer by the Rev Mr Woodbridge[26] 10 O.Clock, sad was the scene, & mournful our lot.

Sunday, January 7. Slept tolerably well. All of us rose early & went in search of Mules for the boys to ride all being very weak & unable to walk [.] got two. Mounted J.F. J. & H.F.W., loaded two men with small articles, left all others & started 10 O Clock a.m. Waters Locke & myself on foot. Guns &c. road horrible staid all night at the barracks. Slept on the ground nothing to eat save pieces of crackers. Lieut. Cavillia [;] 7 miles only.

Monday, January 8. rose early slept very well. the bugles woke us, Socks & Boots Oh! Saddled the mule. Henry in advance not seen from the start. no breakfast. drank with Lieut C. Cavillia & left. road awful, mule fell, waded over boots in mud, made tea at a Ranchero 12, O'clock, Noon &c, arrived at Panama 4 O.clock P.m.

Tuesday, January 9. a funeral Mr. Thorn.[27] After sleeping on a table, felt very sore. Washed in brandy. H.F.W.—W.P. W[aters],—& self, Joyce & Locke on floor &c. Spent much of the day looking for cargo men & a room, obtained a room & mooved in not much to eat, all weak. Mr. Armistead died this morn. — fair.

Wednesday, January 10. Weather fine All slept on the floor in our new lodgings. took a bath in the Pacific refreshing. beautiful morn. went to market, slim affair, Walked about town some, but the day being hot all kept rather quiet. strolled to the sea shore Grand Promenade &c

Thursday, January 11. W[eather]. F[ine]. The sun rose beautiful & clear, went to market &c. called as usual on Voorhies & Bronson[28] had a fine sleep in the Porch. run about town for provision, such as molasses, sugar bread &c &c, took a promenade, looked at the big guns &c. W.P.W. & my-self set up till 2. OClock. an Earthquake

Friday, January 12. A beautiful morn' [.] market [.] made arrangements to have our baggage brot by Mr Patterson, obtained 5. mules 14 men. Voorhies brot' me a letter from O.J. P[reston]. dated 5th Dec'. day closed fine & all feeling better.

Saturday, January 13. Rose Early took a bath; went to market. &c. Went to the Mountain, hard tramp, beautiful view. Buzzards. Excitement all took a promenade, a fashionable resort, pleasant.

Sunday, January 14. Pleasant. went to Church in the Custom House. Sermon by the Rev Mr Woodbridge at 12. O.Clock, a respectable congregation Nearly all Americans, passengers. lovely weather, not very well myself. nights delightful

Monday, January 15. Went to Market, a dry affair as usual. a little beef for soup tomatoes, plantins, sweet potatoes, pumpkins. soup & rice for dinner passengers constantly arriving, much anxiety & impatience, for the Steamer.[29]

Tuesday, January 16. Market, bathed &c pleasant, rather cool, all improving, on Rice & Soup & Soup & Rice & sleeping on soft boards, bread, Sugar, Molasses &c very scarce & everything Else "save, the ringing of bells.[30]

Wednesday, January 17. Steamer arrived Wm P.W. & myself, went hunting a few doves, a chicken &c. Orange orchard. The Steamer arrived at 1. O.clock,[31] much Joy at her appearance, excitement, for passages &c lovely day, cool & pleasant. Patrick arrived from Cruces &c.

Thursday, January 18. Great excitement among the passengers from various vessels as to precedence & c. Much fault found with the N.Y. Co & the Consul who did not manifest any interest in our favour.[32] All well. pleasant.

Friday, January 19. All Well. 3 trunks arrived done some cooking, wrote on Prestons letter. W.P.W. took a walk in the evening. still greater excitement in regard to the Steamer &c.

Saturday, January 20. Went to Market, help get Breakfast. Mules 5 arrived with trunks, had, a spree with the Muleteers, come out victorious [.] Meeting at the Hotel. Music, seranaded Genl Smith. had a good time W.P.W. & myself. retired at 2.O'cl

Sunday, January 21. Went to Market cleaned the room & washed the dishes &c. called on Voorhies & Brunson, took a sleep on the hammock &c. Walked out at eve' & listened to sweet Music. W.P.W. & self. French coffee house. Una coffee, dos, wavos [huevos, eggs] &c &c

Monday, January 22. Rose Early, usual rotine of cooking Washing dishes, disputes as to the best manner of cooking &c &c. An enthusiastic meeting of the Americans at the hotel, resolutions adopted by acclimation, condemnatory of the Co.'s acts. & approving of Genl Smith; proceeding &c &c.[33]

Tuesday, January 23. Took a bath, sent a letter to O.J.P. & Several others for the boys by a surgeon to Chagres, Paid. got My tickets registered. Weather still pleasant — W.P.W. on Rice & soup. — Comt of the whole house on, Rice & molasses.

Wednesday, January 24. W.P.W. went to market very early &c. List of Cooks as put up on the cupboard door. Viz (Edwards[34] & Hamlet[35]) (Joyce & Locke) Ord & Smart) Waters & Williams) Stowell market man & purser &c. Panama Jany 15, 1849. All will

Thursday, January 25. All right & complain that the floor gits no softer. Not sleep sound & eat hearty, Prices of marketing chickens 50 cts each. beef 12 1/2 pr pound. Pork do. fish 6 ¼ to 12 ½ each. rice 12½ pr pound, two onions 6¼ cts

Friday, January 26. Took fresh water bath, at the old ruined bath house. Packed up the baggage & sent it to the Mole, put on board at 4, O,Clck. All right, felt much relieved. One step more for California. Hurrah. —

Saturday, January 27. All took breakfast at the French Hotel. Wrote to F.S.M.W.[illoughby][36] walk to a grave Yard, Skulls &c &c. went to the beach, a lovely eve' & a grand view of the Islands, & ocean (Pearl Shells on the Church Spires)

Sunday, January 28. Went to Church, Soldiers &c, wrote to O.J.P. & F.P.M.W. & L.B. S. continued. high time. Waters, no. trunk.[37] great contention among the cooks. no one's turn &c. One done this & other that, Each done all & still all was undone.

Monday, January 29. Rose early & went to the old ruined palace in the garden for to bath. found the Senorittas bathing, & left. I got some flowers &c. looked for W.s trunk &c. had a dance, all hands, Smart. for a partner, great fun well "let's go it while we're young." Mailed 5. letters, 2 double $2.10

Tuesday, January 30. Went to market early W.P.W. & my self. packing to go on the Ship. great bustle. Equipments to buy cups spoons &c. &c. hired a canoe, all embarked for the Ship at 5. O.clock. Skillful sailors &c got on board at dark, great crowd, bustle, found berths (holes) Slept on deck on a post & bar of Iron. Made a mess of 20

Wednesday, January 31. W[eather]. fine [.] Got up, Neck, back, arms nearly broke, rubbing on the bars, ropes &c &c weighed Anchor at 8 O. clock, for the Island of Tobaga took in water went ashore, got oranges &c. took a bath on the Mountain, Groves, oranges Pine apples, Tamarinds, mangoes Lemons &c &c &c. Tyler overboard. beautiful hills, beach &c

FROM PANAMA TO SAN FRANCISCO

The trip of the *California* from Panama to San Francisco was far from uneventful, as will be seen by Stowell's comments. In the first place the steamer was carrying many more people than her builders had intended. Peruvians, who came aboard in Callao, were on the upper deck; other passengers jammed the remainder of the vessel.[38] One of these wrote that, "We find it difficult to cross it [the main deck] without stepping upon some of the numerous recumbent forms that are extended around. The awning is kept over this deck through the night, and thus sleeping accommodations provided for many who would otherwise be destitute. . . . The passages on each side of the

machinery, the upper and lower forward decks, the long steerage extending from the bows far aft on both sides of the engine—all are full, and many of the berths are occupied by two passengers each."[39]

Secondly, Panama fever was making itself evident,[40] which, together with the bad food and general restlessness, aggravated the discomfort aboard the new liner. Nevertheless her passengers did not entirely forget how to be ". . . joyous, & gay . . ." nor Stowell cease to hope that the new land might contain "... some treasure rich, perchance a home. . . ."

Thursday, February 1. W[eather]. F[ine] . . .—Slept on deck . . . Coffee jerk beef & hard bread for grub—weighed Anchor at 9. O. Clock & bid farwell to the Isthmus, Panama & her thousand hills & numerous Isles &c. grand sight as we passed them. took an easterly course after a westerly course along the shore of Panama Bay. Weather fine &c.

Friday, February 2. Weather fine but blowing rather a stiff breeze; some sick. rather so myself all day. A plenty of fun on deck all kinds of games going on, Singing, Stories &c. on My back all day. Henry & Locke sick had the hogs mooved. hard living [;] still in sight of land, out of the Bay, high + & mountains in sight &c. moonlight, & plenty of singing till 11. O.clock &c.

Saturday, February 3. A lovely—morning as ever broke upon Earth or sea. & not a ripple upon the ocean. but a broad mirror spread upon every side. a grand sight to look upon the calm sea, high land in sight. Course, N.W. all around one & enjoying themselves to suit, Porpoises, bl'k fish & sword fish seen in schools. Slept on deck.

Sunday, February 4. Weather fine &c p[r]eaching on the fore castle. The wind commenced blowing afternoon. left the sight of land at 3. O.Clock. Shipped seas often. got well ducked. duff for dinner. many sick. laid low. W.P.W. & self slept on deck & got well soaked with the spray. great time.

Monday, February 5. W[eather]. Fine All well, fine breeze. all sail set. going at a fine rate. Straight line for Acapulco. wind in morning Many left deck at night [;] the Ship rolled. 2 O.Clock shiped a heavy sea, thoroughly drenching many W.P.W. & self slightly. high wind, Slept on Deck (wet)[41]

Tuesday, February 6. head Winds, slow progress land in sight. everything passed on as usual. wather lovely; jirk beef, bad, coffee most ou[t]rageous. much complaint.[42] root pig or starve by jinx.

Wednesday, February 7. Wind blowing strong, all day. shiped several seas, drove all from deck no places to sleep, on the floor, in the water, anywhere at all. the gale was tremendous, the ship cracked at every joint. heaved & pitched, & rolled & little sleeping done. hard night.

Thursday, February 8. Wind lulled. land in view. Volcanoes in numbers, smoking at the Craters their sides covered with lava. out of Tehuantepec Bay. Mountain upon mountain piled. Mostly barren hard looking party this morning. Slept on chairs in the Cabin, myeslf [sic].

Friday, February 9. Weather fine Sailed close to the beach, beautiful, & the Mountains high; all anxious to see Acapulco, all on the look out, joyous, & gay, & 9½ K. pr hour our speed. at 3. O.clock, its position as per Chart, was Mooted, some for, some against, at 4. O.c We entered the harbour, & droped anchor in 15. fathom water. narrow entrance &c. went on shore.

Saturday, February 10. W[eather]. fine We went on shore.[43] breakfast. took a stroll on the mountains. W.P.W. sported with the wild animals &c great fun &c. took a sea bath. good dinner with Senor Dionicio Friyillo, & & Lady. went to the mountain, cannon. fine view &c. walked to the Fort &c. sipper [sic] & slept at D. Friyillo, a good night's rest. Hammock &c &c

Sunday, February 11. W[eather]. fine All on Shore Took a bath. Ladies bathe the men. breakfast fine. rambled about. 3 to 4000. inhabitants. pretty women. purchase sugar, fruit, bread, &c &c. Market.[44] Orders to be on board at noon. no appearance of Sunday. fine harbour. land locked. no breeze mountain cut thro'. left 1. O.cl'k

Monday, February 12. Beautiful spring Morn. Calm. All. O.K. bound for San Blas. Kept in sight of land mostly. Mountainous coast; hard fare Speculations among ourselves, as to our prospects & our manner of going home &c &c. if we should have the pleasure.

Tuesday, February 13. Weather fine Expect to see San Blas to day continued to write since every day to O.J.P. lovely moon light nights, pleasant talks of the girls, & matters & things at home their enjoyments, & ours, the contrast &c &c sitting out on the guards.

Wednesday, February 14. W[eather]. fine Arrived near San Blas in the night. Wen[t] in this morning small place, cane huts. 3. Vessels preparing for Francisco[45] Mr Morgan building a launch also. small harbour seaport for Tepec', 18 leagues distant. Many waiting to go. left 2. Oclock P.M.

Thursday, February 15. Weather fine, no rain since Jany 7. San Blas has a fort on an eminence, & the hills &c covered with green foliage a very pretty appearance. Calm. We arrived at Mazatlan at 10. O. 'Clock.[46] Went on shore after dinner promenaded the city. Many fine houses &c. improving. very barren about. much aristocracy. left at 10. O'clock a.m.

Friday, February 16. wind high. On the Gulf of California, making for Cape St. Lucas. Several Islands about Mazatlan, high rocks &c Mailed a letter to O.J. Preston at Mazatlan Paid. 75 cts. the 2nd place on the coast. 14.000 people. Several Yankees. Everything high [undecipherable word] &c. good looking people. land at 5. O.Clock. Wind high.

[The following is on the first flyleaf:]

Feby 16th 1849. on The Gulf of California, & the wind high, from the N. & cold, overcoats in demand. land seen (S.E. pt Cape Palmo) at 5. O.Clock. 17th I saw the Cape before sunrise; Mountaineous. (C. St. Lucas.) rounded

the Cape & steered N.W. Hail! all hail!! to the land we have so long wished to see, & may that tide, which oftimes wafts men on to fortune, continue to flow, 'till we shall have reaped a plentiful reward for our labours; a recompence for our many privations, on this our first voyage & wild enterprise. So mote it be. L.S. . . .

Sunday, February 18. Weather cool & Clear. arose early. Slept below last night for the first time. Preaching by the Rev Mr Wheeler[47] text 14. & 8th of Numbers. 3. O.Clock in sight of land again. The thoughts of the Sabbath, its former blessings & enjoyments, fain would I enjoy them again, & be as I have been &c.

[The following is on the fourth page after the December 31st entry:]

Steamer California Feby 18th 49 — There is a land in the far off west where the golden sun in beauty sinks to rest; me thinks contains for me some treasure rich, perchance a home, in some green vale, or on the mountain side, I go to seek it; My fancy has sketched its native beauty, its hills its rills, its groves, its shades its vales & flowers; may I roam o'er their sides, quaff pure water from the bubling fountain, slumber beneath their green boughs, and pluck sweet flowers in the fertile vallies of that "fairy land.' Venture

Monday, February 19. Weather still cool & pleasant & the Sea perfectly calm. Jack is unwell. Still hard living, most miserable stuff for coffee & tea black bread, thin mush & no salt, dirty molasses &c. grabbing for fresh meat. Islands last night. San Diego tomorrow.

Tuesday, February 20. Weather fine & calm Mountains barren, no rain ('tis said) in this lattitude for 8 years, passed Cerro Islands last night. bean soup for dinner. W.P.W. took molasses & bread. Ned & others kept us awake nearly all night kicking up Bob. Singing, swearing, smoking &c. Passed S. Diego 12. O'Clock last night

Wednesday, February 21. Weather cool & pleasant. Mountains covered with snow a beautiful sight Sourounded by Islands on all sides & barren having the appearance of a field of tents & coverd with ashes; undoubtedly Volcanic (Catalona[48] on our left) fried bread for breakfast, hem! fat living. Jack sick, with the fever.

[The following is written on the inside of the back cover:] Islands of Colorado St. Juan St. Clement Catalona —

Thursday, February 22. Morning wind & rain bound for Monterey Short of coal & water. ordered buckets taken off the wheels & sails up. countermanded & spars, benches hogsheads &c &c cut up. some extra coal discovered,[49] great joy. Steam got up, under way at 12. O.clk & on our look out for the harbour of Monterey

Friday, February 23. Foggy & rainy. ship stoped could not see her course. all anxious.[50] Sun come out. stood in for shore 10.O.clock to the

great joy of all Montery was seen. Salute from the Fort. Stars & Stripes flying.[51] 3. cheers given. droped anchor 11. O.Clok 9 cheers. wnt on shore. promenade &c Seargent Noble of Va gold dust &c. I write this sitting on a log on the hill back of Monterey.

Saturday, February 24. Weather, warm & pleasant as spring Went on shore with our Rifles after cooking breakfast myself. Went hunting Killed Squirrels & had a good dinner eat hearty. great quantities of Game of all kinds. roamed over the green hills. passengers cutting wood.[52] Genl Smith assumed the office of Gov' & a salute fired in honor thereof.

[The following is written on the fifth and sixth pages after the entry of December 31st:]

24th Feby 1849 Poor Billy' W[aters]. destitute of all worldly goods, a very lamentable condition. yet its not the exteriour that makes the man. he bears his misfortunes with humble resignation. We sympathise with him by having a hearty laugh occasionally at his expense. A nice young man in borrowed clothes from head to feet. No difference so long as no one knows it & of course I'll not say anything about it. reckon the Old Man would laugh to see you in such a fix & then those exquisite mustaches & well-trimed whiskers ah! him! great party, or rather a dirty unshaven party. well, the big book says mar not the corners of they beard & so I wont. Venture What a change it will be. O! ye Gods. from a yard & a half of jerk beef, a quart of miserable coffee, 2 black biscuit & sleeping in a pig stye, to the land of Milk and honey! & Surely we are to find it, for we have truly suffered perils by sea, & perils by land, perils by hunger, & perils by thirst, perils by heat, & perils by cold, wars (fist fight) & rumours of war. Earthquakes, & rumours Earthquakes; & tumults & violent contentions, have been ever round about us; but now, its Gold and rumours of Gold, & shall we not be brought into that goodly land where all the good things of this life abound, most plentifully, & where all our golden dreams shall be realized? Ye fates I bid it be; why blast with disappointment our tender hopes. Venture

Sunday, February 25. rainy Went on shore to see the fashions Saw people go from Church to the gambling house. large betting.[53] W.P.W. & self rambled to the Fort & down along the beach, getting shells &c. turned cook of late. Gold fever high. Joice well again.

Monday, February 26. Showry. Everything upside down on the vessel filthy, miserable place, nothing good to eat. Went on shore after noon. got some bread & butter, the first since we left the Falcon; might good. H.F.W. & W.P.W. walked around the Bay &c. Beautiful groves of shade trees &c.

Tuesday, February 27. rainy Went on shore to take farwell of Monterey. Many of the people has left & the ballance will soon leave for the Mines. 3. men in town last summer only. All on board at 5. O.Clock & left at ½ past 8. Ho! for San Francisco. cool evening. Talk with Genl Smith.

SAN FRANCISCO, AND PREPARATIONS FOR A TRIP TO THE MINES

The arrival of the *California* in San Francisco on February 28, 1849, was a signal day for all on board. As the steamer entered the bay, she passed the five ships of a United States navy squadron which was anchored off Sausalito. They gave her a salute and Commodore T. Ap Catesby Jones came on deck on the *Ohio* and waved his hat and bowed.

Passengers from the *California* had to disembark on small boats owing to the absence of wharfs in the harbor.[54] Levi Stowell and his friends were fortunate in finding housing; and work, also, to aid them in their finances. Later, he prepared to go to the mines.

Wednesday, February 28. Arrd San Francisco 28th Feby' /49 Clear & chilly Yet the deck was covered. All on the look out, eager to catch a glimse of the long-looked for goal; the Eldorado of the West. Anxious hearts, smiling faces. Men on the heights at the entrance of the harbour the first men seen. Entered 10½ O.Clock arrived at San Francisco 11. O.Clock great cheering & Salutes from the Ohio & other ships. great joy & enthusiasm. I went on shore &c felt at home again.

Thursday, March 1. Hurrah Hurrah The weather keen & clear. had a grand illumination firing of Rockets & Cannon in Honor of Genl Smith last night. Bon-fires on the hills &c a regular jollification at the arrival of the California &c. On Shore all day got a boarding house. hard to find the prices $10 00 to $20.— per Week. I pay $9. & find my own bed &c &c Sleep on the floor &c Slept in a crack. Very cold & windy.—

Friday, March 2. All safe in San Francisco last night Much complaint of the cold. Jack unwell. all run about Town & asked questions, looked for work &c. found Mr. Owen. got my permit. W.P.W. & self went after our baggage & got all safe home at dark & glad was I.

Saturday, March 3. Cold & rainy All slept quite comfortable last night very stormy. snowed very hard after dinner. real N.Y. March weather. all surprised to see it so cold & most abominably disagreeable. Some on the ship, some in Tents &c &c.[55] We considered ourselves fortunate in getting as good quaters as we did. cold, cold, cold.

Sunday, March 4. Clear & cold. All washed up, & shaved, alas! The Mustache. unbounded excitement in regard to the gold mines. $1.00 per hour laborours wages, $7.00 to $20.— Mechanics wages per day. Went to Church in the evening. Rev. Mr Woodbridge. a full house, few ladies, scarce.[56]

Monday, March 5. San Francisco. California Cool, clear & pleasant. The boys commenced work $ per, day. Mechanics scarce. No one cares about work. Money is of little value, every man having an abundance, speicie, gold dust gold rocks.[57] Men leaving for the mines every day. Snow yet on the hills &c gambling in all its forms & to any extent, here.

Tuesday, March 6. San Francisco—all well—Beautiful weather. walked about town, talked about matters & things in general & gold in particular. a man arrived to day from the mines with fifty pounds, Whew; O! for a

few such piles. Voorhies & myself, carried a Bale of Blankets from the Govert Storehouse & rode some fellows in the hand cart at 25c. each —.

Wednesday, March 7. Cold & rainy Sleep on the floor. Eat meat and bread at $10. pr week Expected to go to Benicia with Dr. Semple,[58] could not get off, saw lumber bought by Brown at $600.— per m. ft[59] very hard to get at that & brick sold at $450.— pr m. Boys at work for Brown & Parker;[60] take it easy.

Thursday, March 8. still cold. The Ship Cayuga left for Mazatlan. People leaving for the mines. hard to get a passage. Still waiting to go to Benicia Voorhies & self. Goodhue & his eccentricities, much sport, Squill-wheel—frill-wheel &c. half froze all the time, particularly at night.

Friday, March 9. Clear & windy Spaniards mooved in the adjoining room, called to see the Senoritta & have a dance last Eve'. Voorhies in a great hurry for me to go to the Gold Mines. Went back on the hills & had a shooting match with the Revd Mr. Wheeler & Mr. Voorhies. I beat.

[The following is from the first front flyleaf:]

Francisco March 9th /49 Sauntering about town waiting an oppertunity to go to the City of Benicia, a large city about 40 Miles up the Bay, existing at present, only in the imagination of a few interested individuals. like many others looks fine on paper. L.S.

Saturday, March 10. still cool All getting fat + [;] + Much complaint of clothes + [;] + getting to small, heavy bread & + + bad meat & sleep on the floor, hem! The boys recd their pay for the week $8. per day. pretty good, Congress mens wages. but I'm not willing for them to work any more at that carpenters getting scarce. the more they get the less they do & the more saucy they are. Great country this.

Sunday, March 11. Quite pleasant. Voorhies, W.P.W[aters]. & J.F. J[oyce]. went to the Mission. H.F.W. busy drawing a plan for the Revd Wheeler's house & I claned up our chamber clothes &c &c. Oiled tools & guns &c Great amusement with our excentric friend from Oregon, Goodhue.

Monday, March 12. Cool evenings Spent part of the day writing to O.J.P[reston] felt unwell since walked about town. a ship arrd from Oregon several of the passengers at our house. All Oregon coming most. Called on the Revd Mr. Wheeler, H.F.W. making a plan for house & Church for him.[61]

Tuesday, March 13. Cold winds as usual. Every evening, real northers. Many gone & going to the mines Jack sick. hard living unbaked bread &c. continued my letter to O.J.P. Thought of going back to the States for private reasons but could not raise an express.

Wednesday, March 14. Traveled about to rent a shanty to keep Bachelors Hall but none to be had [;] still with Old-Seeters, left off work for Brown. bought some things for the mines Voorhies & myself.—

Thursday, March 15. had a job of Cleaning guns pistols &c &c. Jack had a chill. weather rather warmer. All commenced writing. Henry, & myself wrote till 1. O'Clock at night, & speculated as to the probability of an addition to our numbers from D.C.

Friday, March 16. Finished my letter to O.J.P. 37. pages. Nothing of any importance going on. Dust coming in every day, people leaving. &c &c expect to leave on Monday, for the Stanish Lough (Stockton)

Saturday, March 17. St. Patricks day – warm. – & pleasant. winds in the eve'. Had to move from a small shanty to one infinitely smaller ½ a story high about 4 cart loads of Boxes Trunks, Guns &c &c six to sleep in a little coop about 5. by 10. three deep & one in each corner, hanging on a nail.

Sunday, March 18. Pleasant Slept in the Old house all hands good time &c. the sun rose bright & warm, & I took a walk up the hill in the direction of the Barracks with Voorhies. A pleaseant walk. Jack & Bill at Bandy. foot racing &c

Monday, March 19. Great time sleeping. counting the Stars through the roof &c & the wind whistling Yankee Doodle through the sides. Vessels arriving every day. Capt Marshall gone to the mines. Steamer forsaken.[62]

Tuesday, March 20. Quite pleasant Henry still drafting for Ross. I moulded balls nearly all day preparing for the Mountains &c. Voorhies & Locke, went & got pans cups Picks &c &c. More Chillians arrived. Ho! for the Gold, dig, dig, dig, laughable to think of really.

Wednesday, March 21. A.U. Heavy bread, weak coffee, bad meat obliged to go to bed early, to keep warm & then kick each other to keep the blood in circulation, mice running over our faces, stuff our own hats in the window to keep out the storm & all for $10. pr week very cheap.

Thursday, March 22. pleasant Ship Edith arrived last night saw Keller & Mr Humphreys from Washt & Geo S. wrote to F.S.M.W. & to Coz' & sent papers to the same & to O.J.P. & to my brother. tried to find a place to live in. No use

Friday, March 23. weather very fine Much complaint from the heartburn. caused by heavy bread, heavy enough to knock an ox down. Still waiting for Owen & Wright's boat to come,[63] to get a passage to Stockton Concert last night, Voorhies on the Flute at Old Seeters is great time

Saturday, March 24. Nothing strange, boys come home loaded with money, went to temperance meeting &c[64] Gold news still coming in all good, getting anxious to be off most of them; am much inclined against it, money enough here.

Sunday, March 25. cold & rainy Wrote to Mrs. E. Willett. Walked about. Jack sick again with the Chills. Dan Whepley for a doctor.[65] raise on board &c, but no improvement in cooking or sleeping, can count the stars in bed through the roof &c &c.

Monday, March 26. —mailed our Letters to day.— Getting ready for the Mines, to start tomorrow evening. Saw a man stabed this Morning. Voorhies distracted with nuralegy in the face, was very sorry that I was going away but I'll take a short trip to the Mines.

(To be continued)

NOTES

("B. L." indicates the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. After first citations in full, the following abbreviations will also be used: *First SS. Pioneers*, and *Nat'l Intelligencer.)*

1. Wm. H. H. Stowell, *Stowell Genealogy, a Record of the Descendants of Samuel Stowell of Hingham, Massachusetts* (Rutland, Vermont, 1922), pp. 21-22, 201-202.

2. Committee of the Association, ed., *First Steamship Pioneers* (San Francisco, 1874), pp. 294-296; H. F. Williams, "Statement of Recollections on Early Days of California" (MS in B.L.), p. 1.

3. Williams, *loc. cit.* The book was probably Frémont's *Geographical Memoir Upon Upper California* (Washington, 1848). The Baltimore *Sun*, Sept. 20, 1848, carried a news item on the discovery (H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, San Francisco, 1884-90, VI, 114). The Washington *National Intelligencer* of Sept. 21, 1848, p. 3:5, mentioned the arrival of Lt. Edward F. Beale, U.S.N., with samples of gold. Samuel Willey said that the rumors of gold in October and November of 1848 had ". . . not attracted any great amount of attention . . .." S. H. Willey, "Personal Memoranda on California" (MS in B.L.), pp. 21-22.

4. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2. The 1846 *Washington City Directory* lists a William Burch as a bricklayer (letter from Jean Ericson, Public Library of D. C., to this writer, 21 July 1947).

5. "Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Columbia," Nov. 9, 1848, quoted in *California Masonry. The Written Law Masonic. Beginnings in California and Hawaii* . . . (Los Angeles, 1936), I, 49-50.

6. Van Voorhies was born either in 1820 or 1823 in Tennessee. He first studied law and then received a position in the post office department as a political reward. Society of California Pioneers *Quarterly*, II (Mar. 1925), 5; *First SS. Pioneers*, p. 268. Samuel At Lee was to be postmaster of San Francisco. E. A. Sherman, *Fifty Years of Masonry in California* (San Francisco, 1898), I, 53.

7. *Ibid.*, I, 54; *California Masonry*, I, 50; J. Claude Kieper, secretary, grand lodge of D. C., to this writer, April 8, 1940; E. A. Sherman, *op. cit.*, I, 54. The original of the personal dispensation to Stowell is reproduced in Sherman, *op. cit.*, I, 59.

8. The third flyleaf of diary, quoted above: *First SS. Pioneers*, p. 298.

9. *First SS. Pioneers*, pp. 36-37.

10. *Senate Executive Documents*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., no. 50, p. 6; *First SS. Pioneers*, p. 36. The *California* had a tonnage of 1050 tons, was 200 feet long and had a beam of 33.16 feet. *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., no. 50, p. 90; John H. Kemble, "The Genesis of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company," this QUARTERLY, XIII (1934), 249.

11. Willey, *op. cit.*, p. 8; *First SS. Pioneers*, p. 38. The *Oregon* was the largest of the three (1099 tons); the *Panama* was 1087 tons. The *Panama* left on December 2, 1848, for California, but was disabled and had to turn back. The *Oregon* left for California on December 7. *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., no. 50, p. 50; *First SS. Pioneers*, p. 39n.

12. *First SS. Pioneers,* pp. 42-51; Willey, *op. cit.,* p. 17.

13. *Ibid.,* pp. 20-21.

14. *First SS. Pioneers,* p. 60; *House Exec. Doc.,* 31 Cong., 1 sess., no. 17, p. 265 (Marcy to Smith, Nov. 15, 1848).

15. Willey, *op. cit.,* p. 25.

16. *First SS. Pioneers,* p. 271.

17. Willey, *op. cit.,* pp. 25-26; *First SS. Pioneers,* p. 72; Williams, *op. cit.,* p. 2.

18. *First SS. Pioneers,* pp. 61-73; Willey, *op cit.,* pp. 35-37.

19. Letter of Gen. P. F. Smith, Jan. 7, 1849, quoted in Washington *Nat'l Intelligencer,* Feb. 1, 1849, p. 3:4.

20. *First SS. Pioneers,* p. 74.

21. *Ibid.,* pp. 75-76.

22. Cruces was the head of navigation on the Chagres River. *First SS. Pioneers,* p. 83.

23. Cholera had been raging in the United States at the time the *Falcon* left. Washington *Nat'l Intelligencer,* December, 1848, *passim.*

24. Captain Elliott, senior quartermaster in General Smith's party, was transporting the entourage's supplies to California. Although recently married, he sent his bride back home on the *Falcon* due to the journey's hardships. Willey, op. cit., p. 49; *First SS. Pioneers,* p. 85; letter of General Smith, *loc. cit.*

25. S. H. Willey, arriving at Cruces, helped attend the two sick men, but to no avail. Willey, *op. cit.,* pp. 48-50. "The attacks [on Elliott and Burch] were very violent, terminating fatally in the course of six or eight hours." Unsigned letter from Panama, Jan. 7, 1849, quoted in Washington *Nat'l Intelligencer,* Feb. 1, 1849, p. 3:5.

26. Rev. Sylvester Woodbridge, a Presbyterian, born in 1813 in Connecticut, was a graduate of theological seminaries in New York and Princeton, N. J. He was on his way from Long Island, N. Y., to San Francisco as a missionary. *First SS. Pioneers,* p. 233. There was insufficient lumber for coffins, so the bodies were buried in blanket shrouds in an enclosed burial ground under supervision of the church's padre. Willey, *op. cit.,* pp. 52-53.

27. By January 8, seven of the *Falcon's* passengers had died on the trip over the Isthmus. *Ibid.,* p. 56.

28. J. Brunson, one of the eight who petitioned for California Lodge No. 13, on Nov. 8, 1848. *Calif. Masonry,* I, 49.

29. The *SS. California* had not arrived in Panama on its designated date. Five vessels reached Chagres about a week after the *Falcon,* and by the time all the passengers of the *Falcon* reached Panama, some 1500 people arrived at Chagres and were crossing the Isthmus to Panama City. *First SS. Pioneers,* pp. 84, 87.

30. "... We took note of the perpetual tinkling of the numerous bells on the churches, the frequent religious processions, the great number of priests and ecclesiastics . . ." Willey, *op. cit.,* pp. 57-58.

31. Dunbar wrote, "My lodgings were near the seawall and facing the bay. Suddenly there was a rush of people and the trampling of many feet directly under my window ... 'Steamer coming! steamer coming!' A dark speck had been discerned in the horizon, seaward, then a murky streak, and finally the black hull of a steamer appeared coming rapidly up the bay. It proved to be the long and anxiously expected steamer California." E. E. Dunbar, *The Romance of the Age . . .* (New York, 1867), p. 75.

32. The *California's* arrival signaled a great demand for tickets. Holders of tickets had "Offers of almost fabulous prices . . ." Willey, *op. cit.,* p. 60. Williams and his friends could have sold their free tickets for $500 each. Williams, *op. cit.,* p. 2. The *California*

had only five passengers when it left New York. Fifty gold-seeking Peruvians boarded the ship at Callao. *First SS. Pioneers,* pp. 120-21.

33. The Peruvians, to escape injury, stayed on board the ship while it was being refitted to accommodate the large crowd expected on the trip to San Francisco. The New York office had oversold the ship's capacity with the announcement of the gold discovery. The indignation meetings prompted General Smith to forbid foreigners to dig gold on American territory. It was decided, eventually, that the New York passengers with tickets would be provided for first, then the Peruvians and lastly, Americans without tickets. Willey, *op. cit.,* pp. 61-62; Dunbar, *op. cit.,* pp. 76-77; Alfred Robinson, *Life in California . . .* (San Francisco, 1891), p. 236; *First SS. Pioneers,* p. 122.

34. T. Edwards is identified by H. F. Williams. ". . . We kept bachelor's hall, and one day we found a poor sailor in the streets, sick with cholera . . . and nursed him and got him well." Williams, *op. cit.,* p. 11. See entry for September 17.

35. Eli Hamlet or Hamblet. Stowell made a note on one of the blank leaves at the end of the notebook, "Eli Hamlet cr $28.00."

36. Willoughby's name is mentioned in the diary's December 30, 1849, entry.

37. See entry for Feb. 24, 1849. Waters seems to have lost all his possessions during the trip across the Isthmus.

38. *Ibid.,* p. 78; Letter from Mazatlan, Feb. 15, 1849, in New York *Commercial Advertiser,* quoted in *Littel's Living Age,* XXI (1849), 163.

39. *Ibid.,* p. 163.

40. *First SS. Pioneers,* pp. 122-23.

41. The last four words are from the February "Miscellanies" page of the notebook.

42. The food on the *California* had spoiled from storage in damp Panama warehouses. Steerage passengers complained about the wormy jerked beef, stale bread and bad coffee to Capt. John Marshall of the *California.* Marshall tried to explain away the situation. However, several steerage passengers (having seen better food prepared for certain cabin passengers) eventually got control of the ship, allowing the captain to navigate only. Willey, *op. cit.,* pp. 64-65, 67; *First SS. Pioneers,* p. 123; Dunbar, *op. cit.,* pp. 79-82.

43. Acapulco was a clean-appearing town whose inhabitants were a pleasant contrast to those of Chagres and Panama. N. Y. *Comm. Adv.* in *Littel's, op. cit.,* p. 164.

44. Because of the poor food on the *California,* the passengers stocked up on what private provisions they could secure at Acapulco. Willey, *op. cit.,* p. 68; Dunbar, *op. cit.,* p. 82.

45. They were: The British ship, *Victoria,* the Peruvian brig, *Volante,* and the Mexican brig, *El Charto,* all engaged and filled with passengers for California. N. Y. *Comm. Adv.* in *Littel's, loc. cit.*

46. The trip from San Blas to Mazatlan was marked by a mutiny of the ship's firemen, backed by some of the rougher portion of the steerage passengers. The firemen eventually went back to work. Captain Marshall had the ringleaders jailed by the Mexican authorities and took on Mexicans as firemen. Dunbar, *op. cit.,* p. 84.

47. See Stanford Fleming's introduction to O. C. Wheeler's letters in this issue of the QUARTERLY; also Washington *Nat'l Intelligencer,* Nov. 30, 1848, p. 3:1; *First SS. Pioneers,* pp. 307, 310-12.

48. Probably the Island of Santa Catalina off the coast of Southern California.

49. About a day's sail from Monterey, the *California* became short of fuel. Stored sails were brought out and unfurled; and an unsuccessful attempt was made to take off the ship's floats. Under these conditions, she made only one knot per hour and began to drift. The order was then given to burn all spars, planks and wood that could be spared. The steerage passengers were especially delighted with the destruction. Enough

steam was raised to move the ship for only a few hours. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87; *First SS. Pioneers*, p. 124; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 2; Willey, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75. After the vessel started out on wood-fire, someone discovered about a hundred sacks of coal hidden under the bowsprit, where deck planking had been taken up before the *California* left New York harbor. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3; *First SS. Pioneers*, p. 124; Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 87; Willey, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

50. The *California* became fog-bound near Monterey and drifted about while the captain tried to find his bearings. Purser Rodman M. Price of the U. S. Navy and Alfred Robinson, agent for the steamship company, both familiar with the coast, took charge. They directed a search for more coal which was found beside the vessel's keelson; extra wooden sleeping accommodations, not previously destroyed, were also added to the fire. A momentary lifting of the fog enabled Price to guide the *California* into Monterey harbor. R. M. Price to O. C. Wheeler, Jan. 26, 1874, in *First SS. Pioneers*, pp. 352-53; Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 88; Willey, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

51. When the *California* was sighted from shore, William T. Sherman, then serving as an army lieutenant at Monterey, Thomas O. Larkin and another man commandeered a small rowboat to take them to the ship. As the ship rounded the Point of Pines, the flag was sighted on the Fort and a cheer arose from the *California's* passengers. The Fort's cannon fired a salute of 18 guns. Willey, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-83; W. T. Sherman, *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman* (New York, 1891), I, 62; E. O. Crosby, "Memoirs and Reminiscences of H. E. Robinson," in V. Berthold, *The Pioneer Steamer California 1848-1849* (Boston, 1932), p. 61; Walter Colton, *Three Years in California* (New York, 1850), p. 352.

52. Captain Marshall of the *California*, aided by Lieutenant Sherman, persuaded some passengers to chop wood at five dollars a day. Additional coal was also found on the ship to add to the fuel supply. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89; W. T. Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 65; Albany *Atlas*, quoted in N. Y. *Herald*, May 30, 1849, reprinted in Berthold, *loc. cit.*

53. A *California* passenger later wrote: "At Monterey I first saw public gambling. Here were tables . . . with piles of Mexican doubloons, laid out as carefully as upon a bank counter. . . . And, strange to say, nearly every person who was attracted by this tempting view was disposed to take a chance, or, in other words, 'buck the bank'." Edwin L. Morgan to O. C. Wheeler, Jan. 7, 1874, in *First SS. Pioneers*, p. 342.

54. *First SS. Pioneers*, pp. 135-36; Berthold, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62; W. T. Sherman, *op. cit.*, p. 65; E. O. Crosby, "Statement of Events in California" (MS in B.L.), pp. 11-12; Wm. F. Swasey, *The Early Days and Men of California* (Oakland, 1891), p. 211.

55. The *California's* passengers nearly doubled the population of San Francisco and put housing at a premium. All available rooms and out-buildings were filled. Tents sprang up around Telegraph Hill; some passengers returned to the ship for shelter, others sought sheds, hogsheads, boxes, crates, or anything else that would shield them from night dampness and cold. The existence of few eating places forced many of the passengers to do their own cooking. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 6; Crosby, "Statement . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 11-13; *First SS. Pioneers*, pp. 136-40; Berthold, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

56. San Francisco's municipal chaplain, Rev. T. Dwight Hunt (at that date a New School Presbyterian and later a Congregationalist), who came to San Francisco from Hawaii in October, 1848, preached at the schoolhouse on the Plaza twice on Sundays; he was absent on this Sunday, so Rev. Sylvester Woodbridge preached in his stead. S. Woodbridge, *Statement*, in "Vigilance Committees in San Francisco" (MS in B.L.), p. 18; F. Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco . . .* (New York, 1855), p. 688.

57. When Stowell's party landed in San Francisco, Williams, because of the delay at Panama, had only 25 cents in his pocket. Waters was destitute and had to borrow clothes. Williams brought ashore his tools and started work as a carpenter, employing every man who would work. Some, who were returned miners in San Francisco for the winter, worked only if they had to and then at the rate of an ounce of gold a day. Williams also bought the tools of carpenters who were going to the mines. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4; H. DeGroot, *Recollections of California Mining Life* (San Francisco, 1884), p. 15; *First SS. Pioneers,* pp. 272, 299.

58. For Dr. Robert F. Semple's varied career, see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 671-73; J. H. Brown, *Reminiscences and Incidents of the "Early Days" of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1886), p. 57; E. G. Buffum, *Six Months in the Gold Mines* . . . (Phila., 1850), p. 150.

59. Williams priced lumber at $400 per 1000' at the time. Lumber came mostly from Santa Cruz and from Oregon. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

60. John Henry Brown and Robert A. Parker. Parker was from Boston and came to California in 1847. Brown met Parker in San Francisco in January 1848, and soon they started construction on the Parker House, one of the first hotels built in San Francisco after the conquest of California. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-63; Swasey, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-12.

61. Rev. O. C. Wheeler was staying with Charles L. Ross, a San Francisco merchant, who came to California in April 1847 and was appointed postmaster of San Francisco by Wm. Van Voorhies upon the arrival of the *California.* Wheeler was planning a house and church; Ross was in charge of negotiations for the structures. *First SS. Pioneers,* pp. 185-86; H. H. Bancroft, "Biography of Charles L. Ross" (MS in B.L.), p. 1; "Copies of Letters and Articles concerning Baptist Activities in California . . ." (typed transcript in B.L.), p. 1; Wm. W. Ferrier, *Pioneer Church Beginnings and Educational Movements in California* (Berkeley, 1927), p. 32; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

62. The *California's* crew began deserting the ship when it first arrived. Only Capt. Cleveland Forbes, who had originally commanded the ship, and Engineer Frederick Foggin remained. Foggin was put under arrest to keep him from deserting and Commodore Jones supplied a crew from his naval squadron to keep the *California* from drifting about the bay. Letter from Mazatlan, Feb. 15, 1849, in New Orleans *Picayune* quoted in Washington *Nat'l Intelligencer,* Mar. 27, 1849; W. T. Sherman, *Memoirs,* I, 65; *First SS. Pioneers,* p. 30; Crosby, "Statement," in B.L., p. 11-12; Berthold, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

63. Most likely John Owen and George Wright. They had a lumber or building business in San Francisco, and got their lumber from Santa Cruz. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82; Colton, *op. cit.*, pp. 430-32; Buffum, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

64. Rev. T. Dwight Hunt organized a Temperance Society in San Francisco in early 1849. Soulé, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 713.

65. Probably D. H. Wipley, who was on the *California.* N. Y. *Herald,* April 3, 1849, quoted in Berthold, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

Determination of the Birthdays of Urban Communities

By J. N. Bowman

FROM the voluminous literature on villages and towns—too large to list here—it is evident that the characteristics and origins of urban communities are much the same in all parts of the world and in all times, and that the first residents form a settlement which may become a hamlet, town, city, or a metropolis. In this paper the interest is centered on finding the point in the history of a place when the minimum requirement for an urban community was in existence. The actual birthday will be a longer or shorter time before this point was reached. As to a method for determining urban birthdays, nothing has been found in the literature.

The beginnings of ancient cities and of those of the early middle ages are shrouded in mystery due to lack of documentary evidence. Their dates of origin depend on tradition or on the findings of archaeology. From the later middle ages to the present, documentary and other evidence progressively increases in quantity, but with this increase a new problem arises: What particular event may be taken as the beginning date? Did London begin with the Celtic villages or with the castra of the Romans on the same site; Mexico City with the Aztec town or with the Spanish pueblo? Did Heidelberg begin as an urban community at the foot of the hill or with the founding of the castle on its top? Did San Jose and Los Angeles in California begin at their first or second sites, and is the beginning date of San Francisco that of the founding of Mission Dolores, the presidio, or the pueblo of Yerba Buena? These and similar questions come to mind. In order to answer them in a manner that may serve as a standard, the following suggestions are made.

I. Trace the history of the community in question back to its charter as a city or town. A charter is evidence that an urban community existed at the date it was granted. If the town has not been chartered, the problem is to find the earliest manifestation of the existence of an urban community.

II. An urban community is in existence when:

a. The residents form a group of independent individuals or families.

The number of individuals is indeterminate; it may be from 4 upward. Branciforte was founded near Santa Cruz with 17 persons, Los Angeles with 46, and San Jose with 66. The U. S. census for 1840 tabulates the population of unincorporated urban places of 2,500 or more people and also of townships or other political divisions of 10,000 or more population with a

density of 1,000 or more per square mile. This refers to density of population rather than to the urban characteristics of the people.

The individuals or families in cities are independent in their economic and social relations. Normally they are also free; but even as serfs in the middle ages or early modern times, when they were bound to the land by feudal and other rights, they enjoyed an independence within the hamlet or village.

This category excludes military posts and garrisons; it also excludes the California missions, for in both of these instances the inhabitants are not free to move and change residence at will.

b. The group is living with some permanency in separate houses or apartments located relatively close together in the manner of towns, or within an area equal to about one square mile.

The houses or apartments are separate establishments, even if built wall to wall as among the Cliff Dwellers. Normally, as at present, the houses are close together in blocks. Among the early Germans, Celts, and Slavs, hamlets were built along one or both sides of one or more paralleling roads, with as much as two miles between the first and last houses. In some cases, especially under pioneering conditions, the houses may be scattered with some distance between them, yet centered in a community center such as a store or school. Some arbitrarily limited area must be selected, and an area, whatever its shape or whatever the arrangement of the houses, equivalent to one square mile is suggested. The community may move its site one or more times without affecting the beginning date, provided there is no interruption in the continuity of the group. (Examples of such continuity are San Jose, Los Angeles, and San Diego; also Shevlin, Oregon, which has moved five times in twenty-six years.) This category excludes individual establishments such as California ranchos and Sutter's Fort, and also centers catering only to vacationists and transients.

c. The members of the community, with common or diversified interests, are beginning to satisfy their economic needs and services locally.

It may be the agricultural village of the Germans, Celts, and Slavs, where the inhabitants went daily to work in the outlying fields; or elsewhere where they worked in the mill or mine, which formed the economic center of interest of the community; or where they commuted to the nearby city as center. Aside from the products of the fields and gardens which satisfy local needs, the meeting of other economic demands and services is beginning to be met through the grocery store, meat shop, shoe-repair shop, blacksmith shop, barber shop, physician's office, etc.

Such a community may, in time, become highly restrictive and exclusive and bar from its limits all stores and services. It is conceivable that at present such an urban community could come into existence on the border of a city on which it would depend for such services; but under the conditions of

earlier times a community of this type would be really a part of the center upon which it was dependent.

d. The community has a name.

Names usually arise before a community becomes urban. If the community is founded, it has a name as part of the foundation; if it grew up as a settlement, it was around some castle, monastery, mill, or mine with a name; or, if it grew up around a first settler, it may have taken his name for the community or have chosen an unrelated name.

e. The people are beginning to be urban minded.

(1) This urban-mindedness or urban patriotism indicates the real existence of an urban community. It grows up through daily contact among neighbors, and through the discovery or satisfaction of communal interests. At first the meetings may be in the homes, but they soon develop into the agora of the Greeks, the forum of the Romans, the marketplace of the mediaeval towns, the green of the English village, the London Stone, the plaza of the Spanish pueblo, the grocery store, post office, or school of the American pioneers, or the temple, mosque, meeting-house, or pilgrimage place where religion is dominant. Present-day rural communities often acquire some of this community spirit, without being or becoming an urban community.

With the rise of the preceding factors, an urban community is born, and with the rise of this urban-community spirit it reaches the age of adolescence; it may grow into a great city, remain dormant, or become a ghost town.

(2) Evidence is usually lacking by which to determine the time of the rise of an urban community, or from which an inference may be drawn as to the date of its beginning. Very often a substitute for this evidence may be found in an official order to create an urban government, or in the recognition of one already in existence. Frequently, laws, decrees, or custom may determine the conditions for an urban community—number of people, a plaza with juzgado and church, specific boundaries, etc.—and when these conditions are judged fulfilled, an urban community may be said to be in existence.

III. When the story of a town has been traced back to the point when it can be said to have attained a state of urbanity, one in which its people were conscious of themselves as members of an urban organization, the problem of finding the date of its birthday can be undertaken. This will be a longer or shorter time before the above state was reached.

IV. An urban community is *founded* when one or more persons carry out a formulated plan to organize a town. The usual steps are the inception of an idea, the collection of data for the final decision, the resolution, the incorporation of the founders, the selection of the site, the survey and plat, the

sale of lots, the building of residences, the growth of an urban-mindedness. Which step is the date of birth?

a. The date of birth is the date when some active steps were taken to make the plan effective on the ground.

An urban community is composed of people living on a particular site; its birth can be rightfully placed at that point when something begins to happen at the particular site, to change it from mere land into an anticipated town. The idea of the town, the decision, the data gathered, the resolution, and the incorporation, the purchase of land, form one parent; the land forms the other parent. The birthday is the time when a start is made to change the land from a state of nature into something as conceived in the plan. This is the actual staking out of the land or the beginning of the survey, and it ends in the plat of the town which came into existence within a reasonable time.

b. The date of the beginning should be within three years of the date of the recognition of the existence of an urban community.

The plat may not be used, or, if used, no lots may be sold, built upon or occupied by people who would form an urban community; or it may be years before such a point is reached. There should be a reasonable time limit between the date of the founding and the date of beginning of the urban community.

Three years is suggested as reasonable. If the staking out of the land, the survey for the plat, or the sale of lots occurred at or near the end of the year, building and occupancy could occur only with great difficulty before about the middle of the second year; or if these activities were slow in getting in motion, three years could elapse before sufficient people were resident and could become urban-minded. Without such a time limit a planned town would be "settled" rather than "founded," and the few residents already located would remain rural rather than become urban.

V. An urban community is *settled* when persons or families separately and independently settle near enough to one another for an urban community to come into existence.

a. The first settler may be the attraction for the other settlers, or the attraction may be that which attracted the first. In the beginning, an urban community was not in the minds of any of the settlers; it grew.

The first settlement may be made by a large number of persons or families simultaneously as a group. In this case a very short time may elapse before an urban community comes into existence. If, before they actually build and occupy their homes, they should camp while a survey and plat of a town are made, the community is "founded" rather than "settled."

The place of settlement by these persons or families may be a site with desirable natural features, or it may be at or near a mill, castle, mine, temple, college or other establishment. In the latter case, the date of beginning of

the eventual urban community is not to be confused with the date of the beginning of the establishment.

b. The date of the birth is the date of the coming of the first settler or settlers, providing he or they become members of the urban community.

The first settler, however, may be a recluse or unsociable, and so does not become a part of the urban community; he remains a part of the rural community while an urban community grows up around him. The true date is that of the first settler who does become a part of the new entity; and the date of this person's settlement is the date when he puts up his tent, or when he builds his cabin or house, or when he occupies it, whichever one, if any, can be determined in this order of preference.

c. Many years may elapse between the first, second, or later settlers and the time when the urban community was found at its beginning. A reasonable time limit should exist.

Three years is suggested as reasonable. If the first settler came at or near the end of the year, the second settler or settlers might arrive late the following year, so that three years might elapse before the latecomers could effect their settlement and develop the necessary communal-mindedness for the formation of an urban community. Years may pass while the settlement remains rural. In this case some other beginning than the arrival of the first settler is preferable—an event such as a dance, a wedding, a death, or some communal services brought about, for example, by sickness; or the opening of a store, a school or other enterprise—any of which could serve to start the interplay of factors making for the beginning of an urban community.

VI. The community in question must have had an uninterrupted history back to the date of beginning. Otherwise there would be a series of urban communities, each with its rightful birthday, as in the case of several Troys on the same site or of the many cities of the Near East which were built on the ruins of their predecessors. (Compare II*b*, above.)

VII. When an urban community grows out of an aboriginal community, the date of beginning is: (1) that of settlement by the aborigines, if they became a part of and were accepted on an equal basis with the new settlers; otherwise (2) that of the coming of the new settlers. In the latter case, there would be two separate towns founded by different races or peoples, and the situation would be similar to that in VI, above.

VIII. When two or more adjacent communities unite, on an equal basis, by mutual agreement to form a new urban community, the date of beginning would be the date of the older or oldest of the uniting communities, irrespective of the name selected for the new community.

IX. Where an urban community *annexes* adjacent communities, the birthday of the annexing community is not affected by the possibly earlier dates of the annexed towns.

X. The determination:

a. The event that is accepted as marking the birthday is the one for which acceptable evidence is found, or for which available and sufficient data make inferences possible. In the case of founding, the evidence will determine which of the events, in the following chronological order, may be accepted: the staking out of the land, the date of the beginning of the survey, the date of the completion of the plat, the filing of the plat, building of the first house, its occupancy, the date of the first store or post office, governmental recognition that a town exists, etc. In the case of settlement, the date will depend on the time, if available, of the first camp or tent, or house, or housewarming, the first dance or wedding which led to communal consciousness, the building or opening of the first store or school, or some other event of communal interest. In either of the above cases the only available data may be that of the charter or of governmental recognition. In earlier times it is doubtful if evidence can be found respecting any of these events; in times nearer to the present, some one of the events may be certified but by no means always. In most cases the only available event, based on evidence, will be one taking place later than the actual birthday of unknown date.

b. The date that is accepted on the basis of the evidence is expressed as definitely as the evidence permits. It may be a definite day or week of a known month and year; it may be a season of the year or the year only; it may be a decade, part of a century, dynasty, reign, or before or after some known event. A modern town is fortunate if its birthday can be determined and expressed more closely than by a year.

XI. Sources of evidence available for the determination of birthdays:

a. For incorporated places the records of the town, state legislature or other charter-granting agencies are available, to give the dates this far back. For unincorporated places the census reports may give assurance of their existence at some early time.

b. For dates prior to those appearing on charters and in census reports, recourse must be had to a variety of sources: data may have been gathered by an historian, upon the basis of which he has determined the date in question; maps in the county recorders' offices and in the offices of city or county engineers, as well as those forming exhibits in court cases; testimony in court cases; recorded deeds, with descriptive data on houses and ownership; assessment rolls, indicating improvements made on lands and taxes levied on personal property of tenants; probate cases and wills; government reports of various kinds; reports of explorers and travelers; archives of former governments, such as the *California Archives* in the Bancroft Library; letters or statements of pioneers, their papers, diaries, and account books; newspapers and magazines. City, local, county and state histories are to be used with much reserve. The majority give no indication of the

source of the data used nor are they as a rule sufficiently critical; their value lies in references to the sources where pertinent data on urban birthdays may be found, and also in the data gathered personally and verbally from pioneers. Whatever the source, it must be critically examined to determine its creditability, and the facts presented must be weighed to learn their trustworthiness.

It may be repeated that this analysis of what constitutes an urban community pertains only to its beginning, and not to its status as a developed and going concern. The object is to find the time when the minimum conditions of an urban community are in existence, to serve as the starting point in searching for its birth date. This minimum set of conditions may continue for a long time, or may be followed quite soon by growth and added conditions which turn it from a hamlet into a village, town, or city.

The analysis naturally excludes from the classification of urban communities some establishments which may seem to belong to this category. Military posts and garrisons, for example, are excluded; urban communities may grow up around them. The Spanish presidios are excluded, even though the families of the soldiers lived within the walls; urban communities eventually grew up around them. The Spanish missions in California are also excluded, even though they were expected to become Indian pueblos; eventually urban communities did grow up around many of them. Monasteries, convents, and exclusive economic utopian establishments are excluded by the nature of their organization and administration; yet urban communities may grow up around them. Individual establishments, however large, must be excluded, as in the case of Sutter's Fort in Sacramento.

This outline is suggested as an aid in finding the birthdays of towns on a standard basis, or as a stimulus to those who are interested in developing a standard applicable to all such places. They have been applied to the following: Benicia, Berkeley, Branciforte, Los Angeles, Martinez, Monterey, Oakland, Sacramento, San Diego, San Francisco, San Jose, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, and Sonoma; below appears a study of San Francisco, and of Benicia. Others will follow at intervals.

SAN FRANCISCO

November 3, 1834

Present San Francisco traces its history back without a break to its incorporation as a city on April 15, 1850, with the southeast corner of its boundaries just short of Mission Dolores, but with its boundaries (as defined in the charter of the following year) embracing the old mission church.[1] Previous to 1850 its story goes back to the intertwining stories of the mission, the presidio, the presidial pueblo, and the village of Yerba Buena.

The mission was founded on June 29, 1776, when an enramada or brush hut chapel was erected and the first Mass said. A palizada church was built

near the present adobe church the same year, and in 1791 the present structure was completed. The church was dedicated on October 9, 1776, and this, rather than the founding date, appears in the usual lists and is generally accepted as the birthday of the mission. It is the one given by Palou, and was no doubt used so that the mission might appear to have been founded after the presidio, in accordance with the governor's instructions that no mission was to be founded at the time of the establishment of the garrison. In the founding of the California missions a common method of procedure was followed; Dolores is the only one whose dedication date was listed as its founding date, even though the "comenzada" date on the title-pages of its parochial books gives August 1, 1776.[2] From its founding on June 29, 1776, the mission continued its history without interruption until secularized in 1834. The early plan to have the missions become Indian pueblos in the course of time was no more effective here than at the other missions. As the neophytes gradually disappeared and the buildings were no longer needed, outsiders moved in. But just when this movement began cannot be learned from existing evidence; the nearest probable date is the last half of the 1830's. In 1837 the comandante of the presidio, José de la Cruz Sánchez, who was also the secretary of the pueblo council, moved his residence, office and records from the post to one of the rooms in the priest's house; and lots were granted at the mission from 1836 onward. During this period of the late 1830's, the attempt to secure Governor Alvarado's recognition of the mission as a pueblo was a failure.[3] The mission citizens in 1850 strongly protested any attempted annexation by San Francisco, and this protest affected the boundaries of that city's first charter but not the second.[4] In 1851 the new boundaries of San Francisco incorporated the mission within the city, and since then the area has become the Mission District. The later urban community at the mission was independent of and unrelated to the neophyte community, and none of the Indians joined on an equal basis with the new settlers; therefore the later community cannot be regarded as a continuation of the earlier.

As mentioned above, Dolores as a mission establishment began on June 29, 1776, and continued until secularized in 1834. Within the next few years an urban community, in contradistinction to the mission, began to arise. The birthday of the mission is June 29, 1776; the birthday of the mission urban-community is the late 1830's.

The presidio was founded in 1776 by the same expedition that founded the mission. The plan for such an establishment had been formed some time before this date and a general survey of the area had been made. While waiting at the mission site for the belated arrival of the *San Carlos* from Monterey, the expedition had selected the location for the presidio, but the first attempt to put the plan into effect on the ground was made on July 26, 1776, when José Joaquín Moraga and part of his command moved

from the Dolores site to the presidio area and began the immediate erection of temporary buildings, the first of which was used as the chapel.[5] Formal possession of the land and the dedication of the establishment occurred on September 17, 1776. Hence the present presidio can trace its history back without break to its birthday on July 26, 1776.

The presidio proper, the fort at Fort Point and the San Jose Battery at present Fort Mason were military areas. As the soldiers were under military control and their families dependent on the movements of the soldiers themselves, the establishment must be regarded as a garrison and not as an urban community of individuals, free to move and change residence at will. Probably in the 1810's or 1820's, houses were erected at Polin Spring southeast of the presidio, and Francisco Sánchez had a house between the two. Alfred Robinson in 1829 or 1830 found "a few framed houses scattered about outside of the square" of the presidio.[6] Apolinario Miranda had a house later at Ojo de Agua de Figueroa on the eastern boundary of the present presidio grounds; and after the garrison was moved to Sonoma in 1835, some people lived in the deserted rooms of the presidio. Nothing has been found, however, to indicate that this was an urban community.

As early as 1789 the Plan of Pitic had included the founding of a presidial pueblo around the presidio at Pitic in Sonora, with provisions for settlers, lots, garden plots, streets, irrigation, pueblo land, and urban protection, but no effort was made to form a similar pueblo at San Francisco until 1834.[7] The secularization law of 1833 endeavored to transform the missions into Indian pueblos; about the same time the beginnings of urban communities are found at and around all the presidios. On November 3, 1834, Gov. José Figueroa issued an order for the presidial pueblo at San Francisco which was transmitted to the local comandante the following day.[8] The election of the councilmen was held at the presidio, and it was there that the council or ayuntamiento held its meetings until the end of the 1830's, when the garrison was transferred to Sonoma and the secretary moved his office and records to Dolores, as noted already.

The presidial pueblo thus created was not of a local nature but included the whole of the northern territory north of the pueblo of San Jose. It was a jurisdictional rather than an urban pueblo, whose councilmen were elected from areas within the jurisdiction. The inhabitants of the pueblo did not live relatively close together but were scattered over many leagues. It was first an aggregate and then a composite, rather than a sole pueblo, as defined by Dwinelle.[9] During the following year, 1835, it became a pueblo on its own account, and the alcaldes were given the right to grant house lots within its boundaries.[10] From this birthday on November 3, 1834, the San Francisco presidial pueblo has had a continuous existence to the present, including the period when the shrinking population moved from the presidio and became centered at the new anchorage at Yerba Buena Cove. Its local government

was suspended for a few years (on the basis of the new Mexican constitution of 1836), until revived by Gov. Manuel Micheltorena in 1843; during this interval, however, the pueblo continued, with a justice of the peace in place of an alcalde.

The movement of the anchorage from the presidio to the more convenient site at Yerba Buena Cove was the result of natural conditions. From 1776 to the middle 1820's the old Spanish anchorage had been off the presidio, between Fort Point and the Anita Rocks.[11] It was exposed to the winds, tides and currents near the Golden Gate, but the presence of the presidio deterred any change from being made until the severe storms of the winter of 1824-25, especially severe on anchored vessels, forced the ship masters to find shelter in Yerba Buena Cove. Thereafter they refused to anchor at the old location. Government remonstrance was of no avail. In 1828, at the end of four years, the authorities reluctantly recognized the cove as the new anchorage, and supervised the shipping from the presidio as usual.[12] With the increase in number of ships in the 1830's, the supervision of the cove from the presidio, a distance of some three miles, proved ineffective and inconvenient. Governor Figueroa hit on the idea of founding a village at the cove, to facilitate control of the shipping from the government offices. His decision was made at San Gabriel Mission at the end of May 1835, when W. A. Richardson drew a sketch of the cove showing the possibility of such a village. The governor appointed him captain of the port and ordered him to go to the cove. The first attempt to put the plan into effect on the ground was on June 25, 1835, when Richardson erected his tent. On an unknown day between the middle and the end of October of the same year, the village was measured and he was given the first lot, the one on which he camped.[13] Thus, Figueroa was the founder of Yerba Buena, Richardson was the first resident, and within about one year Jacob P. Leese, and probably Juana Briones de Miranda, became settlers inside the surveyed limits. The community gradually absorbed the people from the presidio; and upon being renamed San Francisco on March 10, 1847, it became the dominant factor on the peninsula, with a history continuing to the present.[14]

Summary.—Dolores as a mission began in 1776, but as an urban community it began in the late 1830's. The presidio as a military post began also in 1776; as an urban community it began by governmental order in 1834, but its population became centered at Yerba Buena Cove where it continued the pueblo organization. The presidio itself was never a part of the pueblo; since it was a military establishment, it was under the control of the government as a military reserve. Before it could be incorporated into the pueblo by the Americans, it was declared a military reserve by the United States in 1850, and when the patent for the city lands was issued, the military reserve was especially excluded, as in the case of the presidio in Monterey.

The three urban communities of the late 1830's, in contradistinction to the mission and presidio establishments, developed a triangular rivalry. By the end of that decade the presidial community was absorbed by the anchorage village of Yerba Buena, and, by 1851, the mission community was annexed to the village at the cove under its new name of San Francisco.

Since the mission community and the former village of Yerba Buena did not unite on an equal basis to form a new town, and since the inhabitants of the pueblo moved to, and continued their existence in, Yerba Buena, the birthday of San Francisco (former Yerba Buena) is the date of the founding of the presidial pueblo, or November 3, 1834.

NOTES

1. *California Statutes* (Sacramento, 1849-50), p. 223; *ibid.* (1851), p. 357.

2. J. N. Bowman, "The Birthdays of the California Missions" (manuscript in author's possession); *Historical Memoirs of New California by Fray Francisco Palóu*, translated by H. E. Bolton (Berkeley, 1926), IV, 122, 133. Palóu gives October 8 as the dedication day.

3. Private land grant cases 131 ND, 145 ND, 165 ND, 166 ND, 173 ND, 389 ND, 427 ND.

4. *Alta California*, Feb. 25, 1850.

5. Bolton, *op. cit.*, IV, 122; and same author, *Anza's California Expeditions* (Berkeley, 1930), III, 391.

6. Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (San Francisco, 1891), 67 ff.

7. J. W. Dwinelle, *Colonial History of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1867), *Add.*, pp. 11-17, 18; M. P. Reynolds, *Spanish and Mexican Land Laws* (St. Louis, 1895), p. 62. See "Instructions for Pitic," in Dwinelle, as given above, and in 31st Cong., 2d sess., Sen. Doc. 18, pp. 83-89.

8. Dwinelle, *op. cit.*, *Add.*, p. 35; and private land grant case 427 ND.

9. Dwinelle, *op. cit.*, *Add.*, p. 48.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 47.

11. J. N. Bowman, "The Spanish Anchorage in San Francisco Bay," this QUARTERLY, XXV (Dec. 1946), 319 ff.

12. Testimony of Richardson in private land grant case 427 ND.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Alcalde Washington A. Bartlett, without authority to do so, issued an undated proclamation written somewhere between Jan. 19 and 23, 1847; it was published in the weekly *Star* on the 23d, and repeated the following week. Gov. Stephen W. Kearny's change of names occurred somewhere between March 4, when he directed a letter to the alcalde of Yerba Buena, and March 10, when he authorized the sale of beach and water lots in the town of San Francisco. Bowman, "The Date Yerba Buena Became San Francisco" (in manuscript).

BENICIA

May 1847

Benicia was chartered as a city on March 27, 1850.[1] It was founded by Gen. M. G. Vallejo and Dr. Robert Semple. The plan for founding a town to be called "Francisca" after Doña Francisca Benicia Carrillo de Vallejo, the general's wife, was formulated in December 1846 and filed in Yerba

Buena on January 19, 1847.[2] While preparations were in progress for putting the plan into effect, Yerba Buena changed its name to San Francisco, which was used unofficially and by foreigners and mariners for the community on the cove, to prevent the rival town of Francisca from profiting by the use of a very similar name. By the middle of May the general had transferred all his interest in the venture to Semple and Thomas O. Larkin, who arranged for the survey of the town and changed the name from Francisca to Benicia, another of the names of the general's wife.

The putting of the plan into effect on the ground took place in May 1847 when the survey of the town was begun by Jasper O'Farrell. The survey was completed early in June at the time of the arrival of W. I. Tustin, who began building the first adobe house in the new town on August 27. An urban community came into existence within one year, and has had an uninterrupted history to the present.[3]

The birthday of Benicia is the date when the plan for a town was put into effect on the ground, by the commencement of the town survey in May 1847.

NOTES

1. *California Statutes*, 1849-50, p. 119.

2. San Francisco Recorder's Office, *Transfer Deeds*, pp. 30, 149.

3. *California Star*, April 1, 1848. W. I. Tustin, "Recollections" (manuscript in Bancroft Library); W. T. Sherman, *Memoirs* (New York, 1875), I, 82 ff. Robert Semple, in his letters to Larkin, wrote on May 30, "O'Farrell will have complete map this week," and on June 12, "the plan of Benicia City is now finished and the lots numbered"; and von Pfister, in his letter to Larkin on May 19, speaks of various houses under construction—which could imply at least a partial survey by that date and before. Evidently O'Farrell did not complete the survey at once but coupled it with his work in San Francisco and on the ranchos. T. O. Larkin, "Documents" (in Bancroft Library), V, 244, 266, 310.

Joseph de Moraga Commissioned Lieutenant

Translation and Notes
By Pablo Avila

THE KING

CONSIDERING the merits and services of Don Joseph de Moraga,[1] alférez of the company of the Presidio of Fronteras,[2] I have agreed to grant him the commission of Lieutenant of the company of the Presidio of San Francisco in the Province of California.
Therefore, I request that the Commandant General of the Interior Provinces of New Spain[3] issue the order putting him in possession of said commission and granting him the privileges and exemptions accorded to such office, for such is my wish; that he be registered in the respective department of my Royal Treasury, and that a note be made below to that effect; that he be paid the salary fixed[4] for his rank, at whatever intervals and form as allowed by law. I declare that he owes no Media-Anata tax,[5] because this employ is wholly military. A record is to be made of this appointment in the Comptroller General's office of my Council for the Indies. Issued at San Lorenzo el Real the first of November, 1782.[6]

I The King[7]

Joseph de Galvez [Rubric][8]

Don Joseph de Moraga's appointment as Lieutenant of the Company of the Presidio of San Francisco.

[On the reverse side]

Recorded in the Comptroller General's office for the Indies.
Madrid, November 2nd, 1782.

In the absence of the Comptroller General
[SIGNED] Pedro de Gallarreta [Rubric]

Arispe, May 31, 1783.
Let His Majesty's command in this Royal Dispatch be obeyed; let it be registered in the books of the Commandant General's office and in the corresponding department of the Royal Treasury.

[SIGNED] El Cavro (Caballero) De Croix [Rubric]

Registered in the Secretary's books of the Commandant General's office.
Arispe, May 31, 1783.

[SIGNED] Christoval Corvalom [Rubric]

NOTES

1. Anza recommends Moraga for this appointment in his letter to Bucareli, the viceroy, dated Dec. 1, 1774, as first choice, because he has been a soldier and alférez for

eighteen years, has fulfilled his obligations gallantly, has much greater intelligence than the second choice, and has ability to write. Herbert E. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions* (Berkeley, 1930), V, 216-217; for a specimen of Moraga's writing, see *ibid.*, III, 383.

2. A presidio in Sonora east of Nogales and a short distance south of the present international line. Bolton, *op. cit.*, V, 216.

3. The northern provinces of New Spain, the Interior Provinces (Sonora, New Mexico, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Texas, and the two Californias) were withdrawn from the viceroyalty and erected into a separate jurisdiction under the government of a commandant general, who was to have his official residence in Sonora, Arispe. The first person appointed to this office was Teodoro de Croix, nephew of the former viceroy of the same surname. The next to the last signature appearing in this document is Teodoro's.

4. According to Bancroft (*History of California*, San Francisco, 1884-90, I, 634), the salary for this rank was $550 in 1796.

5. This tax was created by Philip IV in 1631. Had Moraga not been exempted, he would have had to pay one-half of his first year's salary. Rafael Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España y de la Civilización Española* (Barcelona, 1913), III, 279.

6. The appointment was approved by the viceroy on Dec. 30, 1774. Bolton, *op. cit.*, V, 217.

7. Charles III, who reigned from 1759 to 1788: "Spain's best and most liberal-minded monarch," according to Bancroft, *California Pastoral* (San Francisco, 1888), p. 63.

8. It must have been particularly gratifying to Galvez to sign this appointment. As the special representative and minister of the king (visitador general) in New Spain, Galvez had taken a positive interest in promoting the colonization of California. Bolton, *op. cit.*, I, 61, calls him ". . . the Father of Alta California."

Acknowledgment: For the privilege of translating and editing this document, the present writer wishes to express his thanks to the owner of the original, Mr. Oliver Moraga of Santa Barbara.

The California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins

(Continued)

XVII.

I now approached the period when my avocations engrossed more of my time and attracted more public attention than my vocation. Though thoroughly occupied by my official duties and endeavoring daily and hourly to practice Bacon's maxim that "every man is a debtor to his profession," I found time, not only to study and write for the general benefit of underwriting, but on many public matters nowise connected with insurance. Yet, in this work I labored under serious disadvantages. I had no time during business hours to consult public libraries, and I had none of my own. My house was full of children and their and my wife's company, and the evenings were generally spent with them or in the care of the home. My wife discouraged all my attempts at reading . . . as I never received a dollar for anything I ever published, she thought I would better employ my leisure hours in cultivating friends socially, than in making enemies by rushing into print. But this was not my nature. I despised small talk, yet could never attract my equals in education to my house, or find any excuse to intrude myself in their domiciles. I kept away from almost all church connections from conscientious motives, and so lost the benefit of that strong, social influence. Solitary and alone, I followed my natural inclination and the bias of my education and hereditary gifts, as well as I could. Better than this I could not. I was therefore often wrong in my objects and mistaken in my facts, was generally in advance of the low public opinion of California, frequently severely criticised by the newspapers; but being uniformly direct and honest in my work, I was nearly always treated with respect, even by the enemies who continually attacked me. . . . Said a cranky friend to me, when I was prominent in the committee of 100[81] and sanguine of success, in the most important public movement of my life: "You won't succeed, Hopkins, you won't succeed." "Why not?" I exclaimed. "Because you can never get a following."

He was right. The crowd are never governed by reason, to which only I could appeal. I never knew how to reach their passions or emotions and would never have used that knowledge if I had possessed it. I have always felt the feelings to be inimical to the access of truth, because they are not the road to reason.

I commenced this period of my literary labors with the subject of shipbuilding. The risks offering in our coasting trade were, in the early sixties, almost all on old vessels, built in eastern yards, poorly adapted to the lumber

trade and undergoing constant repairs. The trades unions among shipwrights, caulkers and riggers in San Francisco, satisfied with the amount of work occasioned by repairs, kept the price of labor so high for many years, as to render the immense supply of cheap and splendid ship timbers of Puget Sound of no value for shipbuilding. My object was, nevertheless, to stimulate this interest, for its cultivation was the easiest and quickest way to improve marine underwriting. Articles contributed to the *Bulletin* in 1866 were my first works in this direction.

These were followed by pamphlets, each more elaborate than the last, published in 1867, 1874, 1881, 1882 and 1884, besides an article in the *Overland Monthly* (p. 77) for 1882.[82] The pamphlet for 1874 was followed by another, containing the specifications for sizes of timber and construction of vessels registering from 100 to 2,000 tons, built of Pacific coast timber, which, if conformed to, would entitle vessels to rate A1.

This was prepared at my instance by the marine surveyors of the different companies at the expense of the board, and was distributed gratis (as were all my productions). The result was very beneficial to the character of our fleet. Hundreds of vessels were built of great strength, buoyancy, speed, and astonishing carrying capacity. Better risks were produced and the rate of insurance fell. No finer coasting fleet is owned in any American port than now [1888] in San Francisco, and though I have never owned a timber head in any vessel, I can claim some of the credit of building up this interest.

In 1866 I had become quite expert in adjusting marine losses. My board of directors allowed me to make what I could out of this business, in addition to my salary, and at one time it paid me $3,000 per year. It was to this perquisite that I was indebted for the hostility of J. B. Scotchler, president of the Merchants Mutual Marine Insurance Company, who owed his first employment as secretary of that once flourishing company to me, as also his first lessons as a marine underwriter, but who hounded me on every possible occasion, till his death in 1874. . . . His company, notwithstanding its $500,000 paid-up capital and its income of $300,000 per annum, had wound up a few months previous to his death. . . . Scotchler was a bright and talented fellow, high up in Masonry and very popular. He had a big funeral and I wrote two sets of obituary notices for him: one for the board, the other for his company's directors to pass.

It was in my capacity as adjuster that I made out the petitions of nearly all the San Francisco claimants to the government, praying its intervention in recovering their losses under what were known as the "Alabama Claims."[83] These papers went before the Geneva arbitration, and the sums they represented were allowed as part of the $15,500,000 afterwards awarded, by the high commission, to American sufferers from Confederate privateers.

On April 21, 1866, my son William was born in the new house on Post Street. A few months after his birth my wife, being in very poor health, went East for a year, taking our youngest daughter Myra with her. The three oldest girls were at school at Benicia. Dita had graduated, but went back as a teacher, and undertook the care of the boy. The other two girls were pupils in the Atkins Seminary.[84] The house was let furnished and I went into lodgings, taking my meals at a restaurant.

The year 1867 was an active one for me. Insurance companies had been formed for speculative purposes much faster than the demands of the public required and in excess of the supply of competent managers. Hence, the danger from unskilled and reckless competitions to the older institutions was constantly augmenting. This year the National was launched, with a paid-up capital of $1,000,000 in U. S. bonds. Determined to stop this process, I wrote a vigorous pamphlet showing the financial folly of flooding the market with superfluous insurance companies. This was a success. The National gave up the fight in a year or two from inability to earn dividends, and no more new companies were formed till after the Chicago fire in 1871.

Two notable frauds were attempted on the California Insurance Company this year, one of which I succeeded in defeating; the other was detected by the government, which was also intended to be victimized by the speculation. The first was the "Transport Case." At that time nearly all the steamboats plying on the California rivers were owned by the California Steam Navigation Company, which was a big monopoly. It was a favorite game with speculators to buy or build cheap boats to run opposition for a while, and then to sell out to the old line. One Charles Jamesworth, having about $500 in his pocket, undertook to build a boat at Puget Sound for this purpose, to cost $25,000, but being attached by the time the deck was laid, for the sums due for labor and materials, the liens were bought up at 25 cents on the dollar by L. L. Treadwell, a heavy-iron merchant of San Francisco, who undertook to finish the boat. He spent about $6,000 on her in all, effected insurance for $25,000 before she sailed, and attempted to bring her down to San Francisco under sail in the middle of the winter season and in the teeth of a southeast gale. But she worked herself all to pieces at sea, and drifted ashore on Vancouver's Island only 24 hours out from Victoria. Investigation showing that the vessel was entirely unseaworthy when she sailed, that she was grossly overinsured, had been outrageously misrepresented to the underwriters who had no survey of her, had deviated from the insured voyage and had falsified her time of sailing, our company refused to pay. The suit that followed was hotly contested. I went to Victoria myself with the commission to take testimony, remaining there a month. We had Hall McAllister and Henry E. Highton as attorneys. Treadwell employed Senator Casserly and his partner, the since famous W. H. L. Barnes. We examined 87 witnesses, the trial lasted three weeks

and ended in a hung jury; two for us and 10 against us. The cost to us was $4,500, the sum sued for being $12,000. But both sides being exhausted by the fight, neither was anxious to resume hostilities. Within a year Treadwell failed and died. His assignee in bankruptcy was my friend Joseph W. Stow, and a bright, genial fellow he was, too. With him I had no difficulty in procuring the dismissal of the suit in consideration of $1,100, which went to pay the lawyers whom Treadwell had compensated only by their claim on his bankrupt estate.

The other case was far more ingenious and ambitious. A young merchant named Charles L. Lord, partner in the wholesale liquor house of Nudd, Lord & Co., conceived a plan, worthy of a better cause, to make a double raise on the underwriters and the government. The internal revenue tax on whiskey was at that time $2 per gallon unless exported. Lord bought the schooner *Sarah* of about 100 tons, employed a young scamp named Swan as master, and withdrew from bond on export entries some 20,000 gallons of whiskey, which he consigned per *Sarah* to Vladivostock in Siberia. The duties on this would have been $40,000. He then filled the vessel with casks which he filled with salt water. He insured these as spirits for $100,000 in many companies and cleared the schooner for Victoria en route for Siberia. A few weeks afterwards the waterfront was astounded by the information that the *Sarah* had drifted ashore near Santa Cruz, bottom up, and that the crew had disappeared. The underwriters immediately sent an agent to take charge of the wreck, who found holes bored in her bottom and the cargo of salt water in casks, but no liquors at all! A reward of $1,000 for information brought the cook to the witness box, for the crew had arrived in a boat but avoided reporting themselves, and this man told the whole story. The whiskey had been landed and stowed in a cave in Drake's Bay, whence it was intended to be smuggled in fishing boats back to San Francisco, thus avoiding the duty.

The schooner was then scuttled off San Francisco and abandoned by the crew, so as to make a claim for total loss upon the underwriters. But she had not ballast enough to sink her, and this miscalculation spoiled the scheme! The underwriters sustained no loss in excess of the reward paid to the cook. The government prosecuted Lord, who was fined $90,000, and the firm broke up in consequence. Lord soon after killed himself, and Nudd went insane and died in an asylum. In this case, "the way of the transgressor was hard."

In the month of November of 1867, I made my first effort as a public speaker in San Francisco. The Chamber of Commerce which had been established in pioneer days, did not amount to much as an institution. Its object originally was only to regulate commissions and commission sales (*cf.* Note 77, above). It met monthly, but its meetings were slimly attended, its order of procedure extremely formal, its secretary was stiff, ceremonious,

old fashioned. . . . His name was Wm. R. Wadsworth, originally from Plattsburgh, New York. He had the honor of being the consignee in New York of the *Sirius*, which was the first regular steamer that crossed the Atlantic; a fact that he was never tired of proclaiming. He also engineered in 1849 the first bankruptcy in San Francisco as managing partner of Thomas S. Wardell & Company of Philadelphia. The chamber had hitherto held its meetings in the third floor of the building on Clay Street over the *Bulletin* editorial rooms.

R. G. Sneath was elected president in 1866. He was not highly educated, but he was a successful merchant and a man of energy and enterprise. The new Merchants Exchange Building was going up on California Street. Sneath, being one of the directors of the exchange as well as president of the chamber, induced the board to construct and set apart for the perpetual use of the chamber, free of rent, a fine audience room in that building, large enough to seat 500 persons. The occupation of that room was signalized by a public dinner November 25, 1867, at which about 400 gentlemen were present. I was invited to be one of the speakers and chose for my sentiment, "Millions for Opposition, Not a Cent for Enterprise, The Motto of San Francisco's Business Men." The management fearing, very properly, that such a subject might be offensively handled, put me on for the very last speaker, intending that, from the retirement of some and the wine soaked condition of the remainder of my guests, my remarks should not be heard. A day or two before the dinner, reporters called for a copy of the speech, but as I had written nothing, I could not furnish the document. In fact, I relied entirely on the presence of short-hand reporters, not knowing that these would all leave at midnight. This, remember, was to be my maiden effort. It was 1 o'clock A.M. when I got the floor. The audience was so thinned out or drunk, asleep or noisy, that very few paid any attention to me at all; moreover, on taking up the papers next morning, not the least mention was made of me nor my speech! I stayed at the Occidental Hotel that night, sleepless, for I was terribly excited by the effort, determined not to give it up so, when all the other speeches were given in full (having been written out and printed beforehand). I rushed down to the office, wrote out the essay in full before breakfast, took it to the *Alta California* and secured its appearance, next day all by itself. Result, it was read, when the others were not. Not only read, but cut out, and pasted in scrap books or posted on counting room walls, quoted by other papers and commented on. Years afterwards Stanford sent to me for a copy of that speech, and when I had no printed copies to give him, made his clerk copy it out of my scrap book, for what purpose I never knew. A few months after that effort, I was elected secretary and librarian of the Chamber of Commerce, an "office which sought the man and not the man the office."

XVIII.

I entered upon the duties of secretary of the Chamber of Commerce with the ambition of making it an efficient exponent of public opinion on all matters wherein the business interests of the city were entitled to be heard. A great deal of rubbish had to be cleared away before the road could be opened to this object.

I found a large and disaffected element among the 250 members, owing to personal dislike of Sneath, who like myself had more energy than tact to boast of; and these would not pay their dues.

The chamber was badly in debt for furnishing the new hall, and had no resources to fall back on. The by-laws were unsuited to the new design, and provided so much merely formal routine for the meetings that they were generally without a quorum before any new or interesting business could be reached.

To cut a long story short, I re-drafted the by-laws, so as to give to a board of trustees the care of all the corporate interests of the chamber and reserve the meetings of the members for public matters.

The dues were collected as far as possible. Those who refused payment altogether were dropped. Many new members were added. The debts were paid, the library was arranged and catalogued. The ground thus cleared for action, the next move was to find interesting subjects for debate, to select good speakers, and good writers of reports. I soon found means to get my ideas before the public and legislature, through reports of the chamber, which would have attracted no attention if published over my name only; and being secretary both of this new active body and of the Board of Marine Underwriters, I was able to influence the press as I never could alone.

One of the first and most important of the reports written by me was on the fence laws of the state. Up to this time the statutes were the same as those enacted in the early fifties, when the land was covered with cattle, and it was not supposed that crops could be cultivated in so dry a climate. These laws provided that the cultivator should be at the entire expense and risk of fencing out other people's cattle, a condition which delayed the wheat development of this remarkable wheat-bearing country ten years at least; for the profits of farming could not bear the enormous cost of fencing our vast fields, with lumber at $30 per 1000′. So the grain farmers inaugurated a war against the cattle men in the legislature on this question. It lasted several years. Colonel Hollister[85] of Santa Barbara addressed the chamber on the subject. A committee was raised to consider it. I wrote the report which was adopted. We joined hands with the grain farmers and the law was changed, so as to compel everyone to fence in his own cattle.[86] The immediate and ultimately enormous development of California's grain-growing capacity, with its attendant commerce, thereupon sprang into being. You may travel for hundreds of miles now through grain fields undivided by

fences of any kind. We have other uses for all the lumber produced on the coast.

Another great service to the commercial interests I was able to accomplish by virtue of my double position: The government had many years before begun the work of light-house building on the Pacific coast. There were three dangerous points threatening vessels entering San Francisco, on each of which numerous wrecks had occurred, but at which, for some unknown reason, no lights had been provided. These were Point Reyes, Point Arena, and Pigeon Point. As chairman of a committee of the Board of Marine Underwriters, I began and conducted a correspondence with Col. R. S. Williamson, then and until his death, light-house superintendent of this district, which brought out the fact that the enormous price, $25,000, asked by the owners for a few acres of barren land at the end of Point Reyes, had caused all the delay there, and at the other points the dilatory action of the light-house department was the occasion for all the trouble.

We submitted a strong memorial from both the underwriters and Chamber of Commerce to the department at Washington. The chamber went further. It appointed a committee consisting of George Gordon, Thos. H. Selby, and J. Mora Moss, all eminent men and all now deceased, to appraise the values of the sites required for lights at Point Reyes and Pigeon Point, and recommend those prices to both the owners and the government. These values were promptly accepted by both parties, though the work of the committee was volunteered; and the purchases were made and the light-houses erected at once.

In January 1868, my dear father passed away at the ripe age of 76. He had taken a severe cold while on his winter visitation, which took the form of pneumonia and carried him off after an illness of only two days. He had been presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church for three years at the time of his death, and died full of years and honors. Few men have led a more laborious, unselfish, or useful life than Bishop Hopkins. . . .

In the spring of 1868 I sold my lovely home, 524 Post Street, for $18,000, and once more set out to find a suburban residence where large grounds, fresh air, freedom from obnoxious neighbors, a horse and carriage, fruits, flowers, milk and eggs of our own production, should add to our family comforts and gratify my innate love of country life.

The creation of our beautiful home "Alderwood" in Fruitvale, about five miles out of Oakland, was the result of our present removal. For $6,000 I purchased six acres of an apple nursery that had been allowed to grow up, there being no market for the trees.[87] There was a small house which I repaired, thinking we could live in it while the children were at school. But it was close quarters. The location was, however, beautiful—in the bottom of the long narrow valley of Sausal Creek, which penetrated the mountains east of Oakland through a steep, narrow, well-wooded cañon, and only a quarter of a mile below its debouchment from the hills. The

place was sheltered from the prevailing northwest winds, and its altitude being 125 feet above sea level, it was rarely visited by fogs. The soil was very rich, and the vegetation consequently rank. The creek meandered through the lot in form like the letter S (it has since been straightened and spoiled) and was lined with huge oaks, laurel, alder and buck-eye trees. The large alders of California, a tree resembling the eastern beech, were the most numerous; hence we gave the place the name of "Alderwood." They were the charm of the place, and bowers fitted with rustic seats, a rustic bridge and summer house (all my own handiwork at early dawn and dewy eve) soon made the most of their beauties. The improvement of this lovely spot was for several years the joy of my life and I was greatly aided therein by the sympathetic and artistic concurrence of my wife.

I designed a large, low, Gothic cottage with wide porches on three sides. The old house, removed to a new location in a bend of the creek, formed a part of it. The apple trees were nearly all dug out and replaced with two hundred and fifty fine cherry trees, peaches, almonds, apricots, etc. The grounds were laid out in winding avenues, lined with cypress and eucalyptus. A new street was opened and fenced on the north side, shortening the drive to Oakland from five to three miles, and our street lines were planted with walnut, fig, and gum trees. A nice barn, carriage house, hen and cow houses, were built and appropriately occupied. I bought four more acres across the creek, on the hillside, and planted thereon 2500 mulberry trees, intending my girls to earn their pocket money by raising silk (a scheme badly addled by Mrs. Grundy), at whose instance I dug out the trees again and converted the lot into a cow pasture.

We widened Fruitvale Avenue from forty to sixty feet; the work of two years ere the cooperation of all the property owners could be secured. The neighbors clubbed together and built a water work which cost $20,000 and has since supplied the vale with water in pipes to every house. We again clubbed together and built the Brooklyn and Fruitvale Horse Railroad across the hills, which is still running [1888] with constantly increasing profit. (I was president both of the water works and the railroad, and did most of the work of organizing and constructing both.)

Around our cottage were lawns, flowering vines, and shrubbery which grew to perfection; and the perfume of violets and jasmine, of roses, melissa, Spanish broom and heliotrope, the tall plumes of pampas grass, the perpetual flowers of the solanum, the massive bloom of the wisteria, the luscious treat of abundant cherries, blackberries, and other fruits, plenty of milk and delicious cream, good horses, comfortable carriages, and fine roads, all these now made our place a heaven on earth for my family and haven of delight for old and new friends, who could not come often enough to please my hospitable wife and daughters. The house was nearly always over-run with company, especially in the season for ripe cherries, and I suppose California cherries are the finest in the world. Our three oldest girls completed their

Unit of Brooklyn and Fruitvale Horse Railroad, coming up Hopkins Street
opposite present-day Altenheim
Courtesy of Louis L. Stein, Jr., Berkeley

education at the Mills Seminary, now removed from Benicia to its present location at Seminary Park, and after they had returned our home was a continual scene of gayety and joy. Once my wife gave a party al fresco to 150 people. The porches and grounds were decorated with Chinese lanterns and the occasion was so unique and delightful as never to have been forgotten by the fortunate participants. For seven years this paradise was our home; the seven happiest years the family enjoyed while living together. But financially it was a serious error. The $25,000 the place cost me in all were expended at boom prices, the money having been obtained by the sale of properties in San Francisco at from a half to a tenth of the prices that I could have realized a few years later. Moreover, the expense of living was augmented by the change so as to exhaust my entire earnings and at one time drive me into debt and thence into stocks in the vain hope of recovery. Whereby I was kept poor for five years and had to mortgage the home for temporary relief. But of all this and the dropping of the curtain on the beautiful play, by and bye.

(To be continued)

NOTES

81. The "Committee of 100" was formed in 1872 to prevent occupation of Goat Island by the Central Pacific for depot purposes. Hopkins, a member of the committee, describes their work, later in his recollections.

82. Hopkins' "Restoration of American Shipping" was published in the *Californian*, V (Jan.-June 1882), 71-79. The reader will recollect that the *Overland Monthly* discontinued publication between 1876 and 1882, incl.

83. The *Alabama*, intended as a man-of-war, was built in 1862 by Messrs. Laird at Birkenhead, England. Although objections were lodged with the British government by the American ambassador, Charles Francis Adams, she avoided seizure and escaped to the Azores, where she received her armament (which had been brought from Liverpool in two British ships) and her commission from the Confederacy. After a career of destruction among U. S. shipping, she was sunk off Cherbourg by the *Kearsarge* on 19 June 1864. For an analytic discussion, by an Englishman, of the legal points entering into the arbitration of U. S. claims against the *Alabama*, the *Florida*, and the *Shenandoah*, which found settlement on Sept. 14, 1873, for the gross sum of $15,500,000 in gold, and initiated action with respect to insurance as mentioned by Hopkins, see M. H. Crackanthorpe, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition (1910), pp. 464-65.

84. See recollections of Edwin A. Sherman for account of the founding of the Benicia Female Seminary, this QUARTERLY, XXIV (March and June, 1945), 63-64, 165, 179.

85. Col. W. W. Hollister's opinions on the question of Chinese immigration, as revealed in his testimony in 1876 before a joint special committee of Congress, are given in some detail by Paul Taylor, in "Foundations of California Rural Society," this QUARTERLY, XXIV (Sept. 1945), 207-13.

86. For special reference to the California statute on the subject of fencing-in cattle, see Virginia E. Thickens, "Pioneer Agricultural Colonies of Fresno County," this QUARTERLY, XXV (March 1946), 19, 37.

87. The reference here is most likely to the property of A. Lewelling & Co. Another member of the family, J. Lewelling, was producing fruit trees commercially in San Lorenzo at the same time. (E. J. Wickson, *California Nurserymen and the Plant Industry, 1850-1910* (Los Angeles, 1921), pp. 21, 26.

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A Check List of Publications Relating to California

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CANFIELD, CHAUNCEY L., ed.

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They Would Rule the Valley. San Francisco, 1947. 256 pp. $5.00.

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HARVEY, ATHELSTAN GEORGE

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HUTCHINSON, W. H.

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News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

November 1, 1947 to January 31, 1948

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From UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS–Vernon, Ida Stevenson Weldon, *Pedro de Valdivia, Conquistador of Chile*, Austin, 1946. (The University of Texas Institute of Latin-American Studies, *Latin-American Studies*, III.)

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From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER–*Selections and Duplicates, Part III, from Mr. H. E. Huntington's Library . . . Comprising the Principal Part of the Famous Christie-Miller Collection . . . to be sold Wednesday and Thursday Evenings, January 24 and 25, 1917*, The Anderson Galleries, New York; *Catalogue of Rare Americana from the Library of Mr. Henry E. Huntington of New York, to be Sold Tuesday Afternoon and Evening December 11, 1917*, The Anderson Galleries, New York; *Geographical Maps of the Periods of Discovery, Colonization & Revolution, Many from the Library of the late Henry Vignaud, Paris, Duplicates from the William L. Clements Library, also Important Books Pertaining to the Discovery of America & Later Periods of American History, sold by Order of Mr. William L. Clements, to be sold Tuesday Afternoon, February 28 [1928]*, The Anderson Galleries, New York; Fulop-Miller, Rene, *Leaders, Dreamers, and Rebels, an Account of the Great Mass-Movement of History and of the Wish-Dreams that Inspired Them, tr. from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul*, London, 1935; McMurtrie, Douglas C., *The First Printing in New Mexico*, Chicago, 1929, with Facsimile; Wagner, Henry R., *Peter Martyr and his Works*, reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October 1946.

From MR. EDWIN F. WALKER–His: *Excavation of a Yokuts Indian Cemetery, Elk Hills, Kern County, California*, Bakersfield, 1947.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS–*Memoirs and Masonic History of the Late Samuel Graves*, San Francisco, 1882.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MRS. MAE HELENE BACON BOGGS–*Westward, a Magazine of Verse*, San Francisco, Vol. 1, No. 1 (August 1928); *The Westerner*, Campbell, Calif., Vol. 4, No. 8-Vol. 5, No. 7 (November 1930-October 1931).

From MISS RAY HARRIS–The *Century Magazine*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2 (December 1888); *Harper's Bazar*, Vol. XLIII, No. 3 (March 1909); *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (July, September, 1909-August 1910).

From MR. RALPH L. MILLIKEN–*His:* Henry Miller's Monument, in The *Grizzly Bear*, Vol. LXXXII, No. 488 (December 1947).

From UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS–*The Pierian Spring*, Vol. 3, No. 1-3 (June-September 1945), Vol. 4, No. 1-5 (February-November 1946), Vol. 5, No. 2, 4-5 (April, September-December 1947) and continuation.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER–The *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 4 (August 1947).

MANUSCRIPTS

From the ESTATE OF DR. SANDFORD BLUM through MRS. MARION D. JELLINEK–Eight legal documents of the Blum family.

From MR. R. W. BRANDES–Two certificates: Weaverville Shasta Road Company and the Lewiston Turnpike Company.

From MRS. BYRON GEISSINGER–Family records of John Calvin Williford and Ruth America Glidewell, his wife (typewritten).

From MR. ERNEST O. MEYER–Bratton, W. G., Geo. H. Thomas Post, No. 2 [Civil War Veterans], Department of Cal. & Nev. Private memorandum of W. G. Bratton.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS–Three deeds: Charles I. H. Palmer to Merit Welton and Others, February 10, 1866; Nathaniel Gray to Anna B. Sutton, May 31, 1862; George Peck to J. Wigmore, June 2, 1863; Confirmation certificate of Christian Carstensen Lund, Denmark, 1861.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MR. GEORGE N. BREWER–*Chart of the Great Earthquake of October 21st, 1868, in and around San Francisco, with Sketches of Prominent Earthquakes Throughout the World,* San Francisco, R. J. Trumbull & Co., c1868.

From MR. J. E. CARPENTER–64 California Centennial Commemorative Poster Stamps.

From MRS. BYRON GEISSINGER–Photographs: Mag, the Indian girl raised by the Willifords; John Calvin Williford; Children of John Calvin Williford and Ruth America Williford, Addie Agnes and George Calvin; Ruth America (Glidewell) Williford.

From MRS. GUY GILCHRIST–Photographs: Mrs. F. W. Page; Mr. F. W. Page; Mrs. J. O. Mills; Mr. J. O. Mills; Mrs. Alvinza Hayward; Mrs. Ansel Easton (Adeline Mills), five; Oakland, Lake Merritt, two; Oakland, Lake Merritt, The Willows; Oakland, Sacred Heart Convent; Mrs. Fred Crocker (Jenny Easton), four; Jenny and Ansel Easton.

From MR. P. F. KANE–Two photographs: Land's End, San Francisco, and the Second Cliff House.

From KING PHOTOGRAPHER–Negative of lithograph: *Placerville (Hangtown), El Dorado Co., Cal.,* Published by Albert W. Bee, Placerville, 1851.

From MR. HOBART M. LOVETT–Two maps of the campus of the University of California.

From MR. M. HALL McALLISTER–Album: Views taken on Hetch Hetchy Trip of San Francisco Supervisors, August, 1908.

From MR. WALTER S. MARTIN–Reproduction of a photograph of Mrs. Eleanor Martin taken *circa* 1865.

From NUMISMATIC REVIEW–Picture: Destructive fire at San Francisco, from the *London Illustrated News* of July 20, 1850.

From MRS. WILLIAM E. SIMONDS–Lithograph: San Francisco, 1852, published for the *History of the World* by Henry Bill, New York c1852.

From MR. HERBERT L. SMITH–Album of pictures showing the results of the use of the money made in the Comstock Lode; Map of the Washoe District showing mining claims, from Eliot Lord's *Comstock Mining and Miners,* United States Geological Survey.

From MR. JOSEPH A. SULLIVAN–Picture: Dinsdale, A. O., Montgomery Street, 1852, reprinted from the original in the Wells Fargo Collection.

From MR. CHARLES E. VON RHEIN–Photographs: George William Luce, husband of Clara von Rhein; Mathilda Ravelet von Rhein; Otto Friedrich von Rhein.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. J. E. CARPENTER–California State Chamber of Commerce California Gold Centennial cover.

From MRS. HELEN DORMODY CRYSTAL–Coloma, El Dorado County, California Gold Centennial cover; Program: *Gold Discovery Centennial Celebration, January 23, 24, 25, 1948.*

From MISS LUCILE K. CZARNOWSKI–Program: *Early California Jamboree, January festival, the Folk Dance Federation of California, January 11, 1948, Gymnasium for men, University of California, Berkeley.*

From MR. THOMAS E. DONAHUE–Three California Gold Centennial covers of the Coast Envelope Company.

From MR. FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR–E. Clampsus Vitus California Gold Centennial cover.

From MR. BERNARD FREED–Cash book, list of solicitors, check sheets, applications for employment, petition records, etc., of the Recall Lapham Committee of 1100, Inc. of 1946.

From MR. VALLEJO GANTNER–Souvenir spoon of the Midwinter Fair, San Francisco, 1894; Replica of the spade used by William Howard Taft, President of the United States, October 14, 1911, in turning the first spadeful of earth for the Panama Pacific International Exposition, held in San Francisco, 1915.

From MR. PHIL TOWNSEND HANNA–Automobile Club of Southern California California Gold Centennial cover.

From MR. GEORGE L. HARDING–E. Clampsus Vitus Gold Centennial cover.

From MR. W. H. HUTCHINSON–Clippings: Series of articles written for the *Chico Enterprise* on the early background of California by W. H. Hutchinson.

From MR. H. M. LOVETT–Two Southern Pacific Commuters Tickets used by Samuel Porter Lovett between San Francisco and Oakland, or Alameda, or Fruit Vale, or Berkeley (November 1891 and November 1892).

From MR. J. MERKELBACH–Denman Grammar School Medal, 1865, awarded to Kate Zwicker, 1872.

From MR. WALTER E. PLANK–Navigation instruments brought around the Horn to San Francisco in the early '50s: "Rough log" or slate; wooden frame sextant with ivory arc; telescope; rod around which navigation charts were wrapped; pelorus; also card compass; two unused receipt books numbers 801-900 and 603-700 of the California Historical Society, San Francisco, 188-, Joseph A. Donohoe, Treasurer.

From MISS HINDA A. ROSE–Cuff buttons of Jerome Bonaparte Fargo; Monogram from the linen of Calvin Fenton Fargo; Sealskin purse, black net jacket, and silk dress of Martha True Fargo, and chemise made by her for one of her daughters.

From MRS. MARY LEIGH WELCH–*Prospectus* of the Oakland Seminary for Young Ladies.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS–Sponsor season pass, Golden Gate International Exposition, San Francisco Bay, 1939.

Gifts of Remembrance

A contribution to the Library Fund has been received by the Society in memory of Miss Helen Kinsell.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

For the Year Ending December 31, 1947

It is pleasant to report that with the arrival of California's centennial years, interest in the activities of the Society, both within and without the membership, has been increasing. Acting in an advisory capacity under the direction of President Anson S. Blake, the Society's officers and staff and the members have been able to accomplish much in furthering public knowledge, accuracy and interest regarding the major and minor events that constitute the history of California.

The list of the Society's publications remaining available for sale, which during the year became greatly depleted, will be augmented early in 1948 with the publication of three new volumes, now in press.

The membership has increased substantially during the year, and it is gratifying to notice that the Society has been strengthened by the addition of many members residing in all parts of the state, particularly in the southern area.

MEETINGS

The Board of Directors met monthly, with the exception of July, for a total of eleven meetings. Nine luncheons took place during the year, that in September being held at Monterey in conjunction with the unveiling of a monument in honor of Jean François Galoup de Lapérouse in the garden of Carmel Mission. Attendance at luncheons increased steadily, the average number of members and guests present being 120. The speakers and their subjects were:

January 31: Edgar Eugene Robinson, "Adventures in Manuscript Collecting."
February 13: George P. Hammond, "The Bancroft Library; Its Resources; Its Problems."
March 13: J. E. Carpenter, "Centennial Plans."
April 10: Franklin Walker, "Frank Norris, San Francisco's Zola."
May 8: E. R. Wyeth, "Early Associations Between California and Australia."
June 12: Charles Corwin White, "California's Place in the Tapestry of History."
September 14: Raoul H. Blanquie, "Jean François Galoup de Lapérouse."
October 9: Laurence E. Bulmore, "Cinnabar Days; Life at New Almaden."
November 13: David Prescott Barrows, "Spain Delayed Occupation of California."

NEW DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

At the Annual Business Meeting held on January 31, Garner A. Beckett, Anson S. Blake, Mrs. M. H. B. Boggs, Allen L. Chickering, Templeton Crocker, Ralph H. Cross, Aubrey Drury, Sidney M. Ehrman, Morton R. Gibbons, M.D., George L. Harding, Warren R. Howell, Joseph R. Knowland, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., C. O. G. Miller and Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Potter were elected to serve as directors for the forthcoming year. The first meeting of the Board of Directors following the election was held on February 12: Anson S. Blake was elected president; Joseph R. Knowland,

Sidney M. Ehrman and Morton R. Gibbons, first, second and third vice-presidents, respectively; Warren R. Howell, secretary; and George L. Harding, treasurer; all to serve during 1947 and until their successors are elected.

GIFTS

Additions to the Society's collections were contributed by 250-odd members and friends. All major gifts have been listed in the QUARTERLY with the exception of those received during the last weeks of the year, and all form desirable additions to our holdings, for which we are very grateful. Members are reminded that the library will welcome not only rare prints, manuscripts, books, and newspapers, but current publications dealing with the field of Californiana as well.

LIBRARY

In July Miss Jane Wilson, graduate of the University of California School of Librarianship, became a full-time member of the staff. Through her efforts the backlog of uncatalogued materials has been materially reduced, and the Society has been enabled to render greater and more efficient service to members and qualified research students, whose numbers have increased proportionately as the centennials have approached. Much remains to be accomplished, and volunteer service by members can be of invaluable assistance.

MEMBERSHIP

During the year the membership gains made during 1946 were maintained. Since the close of World War II in 1945, the Society's membership has shown approximately a fifty per cent increase. In 1947 the total net membership increased by 182, of which 171 were active and 11 sustaining members. The year closes with the membership standing at a net total of 1329. In addition, one sustaining and 19 active members have been elected effective as of January 1, 1948.

Respectfully submitted,

WARREN R. HOWELL, *Secretary*

January 31, 1948

As has been customary for several years past, the books of the Society have been audited by Messrs. Farquhar and Heimbucher. Their full report for 1947 is on file at the headquarters of the Society, a summary being given below.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

BALANCE SHEET
As at December 31, 1947

ASSETS

Cash—Commercial Account	$ 1,544.27	
Savings Account	5,810.46	
Library Fund Savings Account	1,309.85	
Office Revolving Fund	20.00	$ 8,684.58
U. S. Savings Bonds, Series G		400.00
Accounts Receivable		
General Fund	$ 256.65	
Publications Fund	26.91	283.56
Inventory of Publications		607.55
Prepaid Insurance		72.00
Total Assets*		$10,047.69

LIABILITIES

Accounts Payable		
General Fund	$ 40.68	
Publication Fund	—	
Sales Tax Payable—State	21.59	
City	.20	
Withholding Tax Payable	381.60	
Dues Collected in Advance	1,015.00	$ 1,459.07

FUNDS

General Fund	$ 1,825.63	
Publication Fund	5,534.31	
Library Fund	828.68	
Cavalier Memorial Fund	400.00	8,588.62
Total Liabilities and Funds		$10,047.69

*Library, Collections, Furniture and Equipment are not valued on the books; the insurance value of the Library and Collections is $76,668.08.

GENERAL FUND INCOME STATEMENT
For the Year ended December 31, 1947

RECEIPTS		
Dues		
Active Members	$11,487.20	
Patron Members	2,100.00	
Sustaining Members	2,025.00	$15,612.20

Contributions		
General Purposes	$ 2,110.00	
Special Purposes	188.40	2,298.40
Sales of "Quarterly"		1,271.00
Interest Earned		47.34
Miscellaneous Revenue		18.55
Total Receipts		$19,247.49
EXPENDITURE		
Operating Expenses		
Salaries	$ 8,932.50	
Rent	2,160.00	
Telephone	125.29	
Office Supplies	407.18	
Postage and Express	121.59	
Furniture and Equipment	1.03	
Insurance	160.00	
Library Expenses	29.57	
Miscellaneous	175.92	$12,113.08
Membership and Publicity		241.73
Luncheon Expenses		500.69
Exhibit Expenses		—
"Quarterly" Publication Costs		5,680.79
Total Expenditure		$18,536.29
Excess of Receipts over Expenditure		$ 711.20
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year		1,114.43
Fund Balance at End of Year		$ 1,825.63

PUBLICATION FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year ended December 31, 1947

Sales of Publications		$ 479.30
Cost of Sales		
Inventory at Beginning of Year	$ 894.55	
Inventory at End of Year	607.55	287.00
Gross Profit from Sales		$ 192.30
Selling Expense		34.76
Net Profit from Sales		$ 157.54
Interest on Savings Account		29.41
Net Gain to Fund		$ 186.95
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year		5,347.36
Fund Balance at End of Year		$ 5,534.31

LIBRARY FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year ended December 31, 1947

Receipts		
Sale of Duplicate Books		—
Interest on Savings Account		$ 12.97
Contributions to Fund		6.78
Total Receipts		$ 19.75
Expenditure		
O'Farrell Material Purchased	$ 100.00	
San Francisco *Bulletin* Purchased	200.00	
Pacific Sentinel Purchased	51.25	
Typewriter Purchased	132.92	484.17
Net Gain *(Loss)* to Fund		$ *464.42*
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year		1,293.10
Fund Balance at End of Year		$ 828.68

CAVALIER MEMORIAL FUND INCOME STATEMENT

Contributions	$ 200.00
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year	200.00
Fund Balance at End of Year	$ 400.00

Meetings

Following the annual meeting on January 23, 1948, the Rev. John W. Winkley, of the Community Methodist Church in Albany, spoke upon the state's vanishing mining towns, with which he became familiar during forty years of pastoral work in the foothills or when traveling for relaxation. Tennyson sang of the splendor that dies with the day on castled walls; and Scott, of battlements in the twilight. These were erections of stone, said the speaker, long in building and long in wasting away; but the now-forsaken towns of the placers of California—founded, just as truly as were the old-world castles, on human struggle and ambition—came quickly, and, to judge by the appearance of their remnants on banks and river bars, their farewells were as unceremonious as their births.

In the American River country, the speaker has carefully explored the ruins of such towns as Mormon Island; Prairie City on Alder's Creek, whose only relics are wooden grave markers; Little Negro Hill, the site of which seems an incongruity to us and its story a hoax; Salmon Falls, where, on his visit last year, no visible sign remained of the structures he had seen on a former trip; Rattlesnake Bar at the junction of the North and Middle forks of the American, which he came upon on a summer hay-ride during his first California pastorate at Auburn and, unknowingly, picknicked on its abandoned main street. Other places in the vicinity that he visited were the deep Zantgraf quartz mine; the now-closed Alabaster Cave whose subterranean paths were at one time lighted for the entertainment of sightseers; and the former community of Goose Flat. The view of the wild remote country drained by the middle fork of the American, as seen from some vantage point, takes in the former sites of twenty-odd mining towns, in ruins or sunk into unidentifiable dust. On the ridge to the south was the old town of Pilot Hill, where, he said, ten thousand birds had sung him awake in the dawn of a summer day as he camped on what was once the village green; and at Greenwood, on the same ridge, he searched for and found the crumbling headstone of the early songster, Joe Bowers, the neglect of whose memory, when reported by the speaker in the *Oakland Tribune*, had been promptly amended by the placing of a monument.

While living in Nevada City, Mr. Winkley had an opportunity to investigate the site of Selby Flat among giant forest trees. On occasion, his pastoral work took him to old North San Juan, French Corral, Sweetland, Columbia Hill, Lake City, North Bloomfield, and Granite City. In later years he lived at Marysville, which served as a base for trips to the foothills and river bars in the Yuba and Feather river watersheds. At Bidwell Bar, once a large town of Butte County, his family found the site of the old business block a diverting playground. Onion Valley, lofty, wind-swept,

and empty, still boasts an old log building, forlorn memorial to a once populous trading-post. At Betsyburg near Quincy he picked up, rather surprisingly, a great iron ship wrench. Another old site (now occupied by modern summer cottages), seen in his ramblings, was Rich Bar, which had a prose-poet laureate in Dame Shirley with her mention of "far down valleys," and "blue-blossomed lagoons." Maj. P. B. Reading, of whose life the speaker has made a special study, was the discoverer of gold on Clear Creek. These diggings later became known as Horsetown. Mr. Winkley in inquiring the way thither at the Redding Chamber of Commerce was told, "Never heard of such a place." A geologist sitting near asked if it might be the origin of the "Horsetown geological formation." It was; and so directions were obtained. No sign of the town remained—only a post on the gravel bar, bearing a plaque with the words, "Gold discovered here by Major Reading, March, 1848." At the former headquarters of Reading's rancho, Buena Ventura, near the mouth of Cottonwood Creek on the Sacramento, nothing remained of barns, servants' quarters, and Indian ranchería; only the crumbling walls of the old adobe house (onto which the roof had fallen prostrate) and the well-curb were left, but some gnarled fruit trees still lived on. The place has now been sold and all vestiges of the past removed.

Thirty years ago the speaker's church was at the junction of Hangtown Creek and Cedar Ravine in Placerville, his circuit including the Methodist church at Coloma and the one at El Dorado. Among his duties had been attendance at the funeral of Mrs. Bombardier, owner of Somerset House (some twelve miles from Placerville) where the bandits who robbed the stage at Bullion Bend sought refuge. Mr. Winkley spoke words of comfort to a little white-haired gentleman who appeared to be the bereaved husband; but after the service, he was told that the deceased had long ago chased the person in question off the place with a shotgun and that his return home was made in the hope of claiming the property. Burial was at Indian Diggings, higher among the hills, where a storm roared down upon them and they had to take shelter, amply reinforced by a chicken dinner, at Fairplay, which on his last visit, thirty years later, had entirely disappeared.

While his home was at Ione Valley in Amador County, the speaker added to his familiarity with abandoned towns; for example, the now vacant site of Michigan Bar, where even the hillocks and ridges had been hydraulicked away. The stone walls of Forest Home, an old tavern on the road to Drytown, still stand, but the doors, floors and ceilings have rotted and fallen in; gnarled locusts and palms in the garden show how some forgotten soul had tried to exercise a leaning toward beautification. Among the chaparral-covered hills of the county the speaker tracked down the remnants of such towns as Lower and Upper Ranchería. At Big Bar, where the

Mother Lode Highway crosses the Tuolumne River, there is an old tavern, still in use, at each end of the bridge—Gardela's on the Amador side and Kelton's on the Calaveras. The son of the original owner of Kelton's was, at the time of the speaker's last visit, still the proprietor. Scraggy locusts were again to be seen at Campo Seco, growing among the brambles and crumbling walls. At Double Springs in Calaveras County is the old Wheat mansion, lived in still by relatives of Alexander R. Wheat, to the rear of which stands the frail original county court-house made of Chinese camphor wood. The deep ravine of Jesús María Creek shelters the town of Jesús María where he found stark ruins and also one occupied dwelling.

Along all the branches of the Calaveras there were gold camps. Off to one side of the modern road through forgotten Fourth Crossing is the Reddick House among huge oak trees, its stables for the stage and freight-wagon teams completely vanished, as is the old Fandango House across the street. In a news story, Mr. Winkley once mentioned the old Reddick house. Whereupon a grandson of the pioneer wrote him a reminiscent letter.

As for the Twain-Harte country, the speaker again showed his knowledge of the scene, having camped on Jackass Hill near Mark Twain's cabin. There was Shaw's Flat, with its 1849 version of the Golden Apples of Hesperides, said to have been rooted in gold-dust mud behind the bar; all that now mark Negro Tom's cabin at the flat are a fireplace and chimney washed clean by winter rains. But no matter how devoted the modern searcher for historic relics on the sand bars and banks of the Tuolumne may be, his efforts come up squarely against the water held back behind Don Pedro Dam. Before closing, Mr. Winkley mentioned two more mining-town houses: the Wheeler mansion under the pines at Coulterville and J. C. Frémont's home near the little town of Bear Valley. His address ended with the reading of Harry Noyes Pratt's "The Ballad of Frisco Kate."

With much adroitness and humor, Frederic L. Paxson, Margaret Byrne Professor of United States History, emeritus, University of California, spoke at the February meeting of the Society on the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. As to the particular day of the month of the meeting—February 12, Lincoln's Birthday—Dr. Paxson pointed out that it had more than ordinary appropriateness, as it stood midway between two dates directly concerned with his subject: February 2, 1848, when the treaty ending the Mexican War was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, just outside Mexico City; and February 22, when President James K. Polk sent it to the Senate for ratification. But there was more than the juxtaposition of dates, for Abraham Lincoln, raw Whig member of Congress from Illinois, was feeling his oats, and on December 22 just preceding the treaty had introduced his "Spot Resolutions," in which he quoted certain parts of the President's messages

of May 11 and December 7-8, 1846, and challenged him to reveal the "spot" where Mexican cavalry had invaded the United States, thus formally opening the war.

In the winter of 1847-48, the trial of the "Pathfinder," J. C. Frémont, son-in-law of Sen. Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, was being held in Washington. Frémont, the speaker said, had been caught between the "brass hats" in the California campaign. Whom was he to obey—the army or the navy? The Bear Flag Revolt of June 1846 in California had been symptomatic of the times; changes were in the bag, Frémont or no, and the uncertainty of what the changes were to be, required second sight on the part of the government no less than the military. Each day's march forward into enemy territory lengthened the time between the sending of dispatches and the receipt of replies. Were their instructions being followed, the brasses wondered, or were the commanders in the field really on their own? Polk and his cabinet, bewildered, couldn't tell. Furthermore, successful Whig generals were causing uneasiness at the White House, at the beginning of a "presidential year," 1848. Suppose their Whiggery should outweigh their patriotism and endanger the administration?

In March 1846 John Slidell returned from what proved to have been an unsuccessful mission. He had been sent the previous fall to find out for the President whether conciliation with the Mexican government could be brought about by boundary adjustments. Internal political dissensions in Mexico had obstructed his attempts. Thereupon General Taylor had advanced upon Matamoros, at the mouth of the Rio Grande, and the April 1846 incident of Mexican troops crossing that river took place. Victories for the Americans followed within the year: Monterrey by September 26 (Monterey in California had been taken over by Commodore Sloat two and a half months earlier); Tampico in October; Buena Vista the following February (1847); and Scott, after the fall of Vera Cruz in March 1847, was on his way toward Mexico City. There was hope that the failure of Slidell might be retrieved. Nicholas B. Trist, who was related to Thomas Jefferson through marriage to the latter's granddaughter, accordingly was sent on a secret errand to the Mexican government. He had substituted in the state department for Slidell during his mission and was now chief clerk.

Upon Trist's arrival at Scott's headquarters, the general's animosity was aroused by his seeming subordination in rank to the new peace envoy, but Trist's candor made friendship between the two easier and more sensible. The terms brought by Trist included cession of all territory north of the Rio Grande from its mouth to the southern boundary of New Mexico, as well as New Mexico, Upper and Lower California, and a right of way across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Mexico still refused to be convinced. But the capture of Mexico City on September 13, 1847, and the subsequent failure of Santa Anna in opposing the American advance, changed the pic-

ture, both for Trist and the negotiations. Polk learned of the victories, regretted the peace offers he had relayed by Trist, and in October 1847 recalled him. The President was bothered by cross-currents in American opinion—some were for annexation of Mexico in order to end the war, and others were strongly opposed. Moreover, the failure to make a decisive peace was wearing down public enthusiasm. Polk tried to be vague about the negotiations, but the Whigs were making capital out of the situation. On January 12, 1848, Lincoln was again taking up the matter of his "Spot Resolutions" in the House of Representatives. Trist, who had remained on the scene in Mexico and realized, as did General Scott, the need for haste in completing a settlement, lest de la Peña's peace government should disintegrate, went ahead with his original task, although he had been deprived, by his recall, of any tenable diplomatic position. A sound treaty was consummated. No matter how acidly it was labeled by Polk—he called it "arrogant" and "impudent"—it did, nevertheless, as the President was forced to admit, embody the points that he himself had laid down. The text of the treaty was seventeen days in reaching Washington (February 19) and three days later was sent, as we have seen, to the Senate which ratified it with slight modifications on March 10, 1848.

In 1846 there was only a handful of shacks on the San Francisco peninsula, and the bonds between Mexico and her remote province were of the slenderest. The Russians had withdrawn from Bodega by 1841; British vessels, it is true, were playing around the Pacific, but their game was discreet. Looking backwards now, one can see that had Polk possessed a crystal ball he could have realized how active *inaction* on his part would have been. He could, in other words, have sat still and watched. Even before the discovery of gold (which did not become effective news in Washington until November 1848), such men as J. A. Sutter, John Bidwell, Dr. John Marsh, Charles M. Weber, were, with their large holdings and interests, already superimposing on the map of Alta California a peaceable representation of American sovereignty.

New Members

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	Sustaining	
Mrs. Melba Berry Bennett	Palm Springs	Membership Committee
	Active	
Lewis Allen	San Francisco	Continuing membership of father, Harris Allen
Theodore F. Bernstein	New York City	Membership Committee
John W. Borden	San Jose	Membership Committee
Mrs. Sherman Hoyt Bouton	Pasadena	Membership Committee
Karl F. Brown	Long Beach	Membership Committee
Mrs. George L. Cadwalader	San Francisco	Resuming former membership
Mrs. Logan Chandler	San Antonio, Texas	Mrs. Elizabeth G. Potter and Miss Lottie Woods
Francis Cross	Berkeley	Ralph H. Cross
Miss Lillian A. Cross	Oakland	Ralph H. Cross
Ridgely Cummings	San Francisco	Mrs. Charles G. Riley
H. P. Davis	Nevada City	Rockwell D. Hunt
Glen Dawson	Los Angeles	Continuing membership of father, Ernest Dawson
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Marginalia

The author of the paper on highbinderism in San Francisco, Hart H. North, was born in Marysville in 1871. His father, George North, mined on the Yuba River in 1852, and then entered the mining supply business in Marysville. Hart North's interests, however, lay in the study of law. In 1893 he graduated from Hastings College, San Francisco. Two years later, he entered the California Assembly from Alameda County, and was re-elected for the session of 1897—at the same time that his younger brother, Arthur, was representing Yolo County. From 1898, as an appointee, suc-

cessively, of William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and William H. Taft, Hart North served as commissioner of immigration for California and Nevada. On returning to private life he resumed the practice of law, in which he continues to be active.

Originally from Paris, Kentucky, William Barclay Stephens, ophthalmologist and otologist, received his M.D. degree from Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1893 and the same year began practice in San Francisco. His active career (he retired in 1938 but resumed practice during World War II) has included periods of study at clinics in the United States and in Europe and the writing of reports on his findings for medical and other scientific societies. At present Dr. Stephens is honorary curator of horology at the California Academy of Sciences in San Francisco and the author of numerous articles on his historic charges.

Sandford Fleming is a native of Australia of American parentage. In 1914 he came to the United States and entered Yale Divinity School (B.D., 1917), then returned to Australia where he spent five years in religious work. Upon his return to California in 1922, he continued his studies in theology, preaching at the same time in San Francisco; three years later he re-entered Yale, which in 1929 conferred upon him the Ph.D. degree. In 1937 Dr. Fleming became president of the Berkeley Baptist Divinity School. His interdenominational interest (in which he reflects the earlier attitude of O. C. Wheeler) is seen in his recent term as president of the American Association of Theological Schools. Dr. Fleming has spent several months in historical research abroad. Among his writings are, *Children and Puritanism* (New Haven: Yale Studies in Religious Education, 1933); and *Nine Years Beside the Golden Gate* (San Francisco, 1944), which is a history of the First Baptist Church of San Francisco.

The editor of Levi Stowell's diary, Marco Thorne, was born in Los Angeles and is an alumnus both of Stanford University (M.A., history, 1940) and of the University of California School of Librarianship (certificate, 1942). Then came enlistment as a private in the United States army, with assignments which permitted him to make use of his professional training. Following his discharge in 1946 with the rank of captain, Mr. Thorne joined the staff of the Washoe County Library at Reno, of which he is now assistant director.

For biographical note on J. N. Bowman, see this QUARTERLY, XXV (Dec. 1946), 379.

Pablo Avila, born in Mexico, received his grammar and high school education in Orange County, California, preparatory to attending Stanford University (Ph.D., Spanish, 1937). He has taught Latin, French, and Spanish in the high schools of Menlo and Redwood City; and Spanish at the University of Santa Clara and at his alma mater. Dr. Avila is now assistant professor of Spanish at the University of California, Santa Barbara College.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

At present in Ohio, attending Kenyon College at Gambier, John W. Borden keeps the West in mind through membership in such organizations as the Book Club of California, and now this Society. His plans have in view returning to California and living permanently in San Francisco.

John Catlin (b. Sacramento, 1871) studied law in the office of his father, A. P. Catlin, a pioneer attorney of 1849 and partner of John Curry (afterwards chief justice of the California Supreme Court). John Catlin's mother was Ruth Donaldson, daughter of A. C. Donaldson, M.D., pioneer physician of Mormon Island, Folsom, and Sacramento. In 1890 her husband was elected judge of the Superior Court of Sacramento County, and two years later their son, the Society's new member, was admitted to the state bar. The latter has practiced in Sacramento, Nome, San Francisco, and in Monterey County. At present he lives in Carmel (he was elected mayor during the depression) and is now engaged in the design and manufacture of ornamental iron, in addition to a limited amount of law work.

Mrs. Helen Baily Chandler (Mrs. Logan Chandler), daughter of the late Lt. Charles M. Baily of the Eighth Infantry, was born at Fort McDowell, Angel Island. The lawyer members of Mrs. Chandler's family have been the authors of important papers in the history of the state: her grandfather, William Graham Wood, who arrived in California in September 1849, wrote the report on A. A. Cohen's receivership of Adams & Co. in 1855; and her uncle, John Franklin Swift, was the author of a memorial to Congress from a convention of citizens at Sacramento, in which he defended the desire of a large group in California to limit Chinese immigration. In 1880, Swift was appointed by President Hayes a commissioner to China for adjustment of this question, and some nine years later he became minister to Japan. In the interim (1872-1888) he served as a regent of the University of California. Mrs. Chandler is a member of the Colonial Dames.

In the opinion of H. P. Davis, there are events that occurred during the gold rush which have not, even yet, been "covered"; for instance, the first steps in hydraulic mining. Nor have the contributions to the state by such men as J. D. Whitney, J. Ross Browne, Waldemar Lingren, among others, received enough attention. Mr. Davis has to his credit technical books on Canada (Ontario) silver and gold districts, based on over fifty years' experience there and elsewhere in the western hemisphere, as prospector, geologist, and mine manager; also, a *Commercial Guide to Haiti* (Port au Prince, 1924), and *Black Democracy* (New York, 1928-36), and many special articles in New York newspapers and magazines. In 1947 he served as counsellor of the Nevada County Historical Society.

Thomas E. Donahue feels that he should have been born, not in San Bernardino County but in Santa Barbara, together with the rest of his parents' children. His father, James P. Donahue, who became a farmer and highway

contractor, had similar regrets because he first saw the light of day in Iowa, on the transcontinental road from Pennsylvania to California, instead of at this far end. The elder Donahue married Mariana S. Cordero of Santa Barbara and for many years they made their home at Santa Ynez Mission. Thomas E. Donahue, who is a graduate of the state university, is sales-manager for the Coast Envelope Company.

Mrs. Harvey V. Eastling assures us that the subject of preserving the old sites and monuments concerned with California history will always meet a sympathetic response from her. How necessary such enthusiasm is to the work of historical societies is of course evident, but it bears repetition on occasions like this.

E. I. Edwards' writings on the Mojave Desert have had such wide popularity that they are mentioned here simply to refresh the reader's memory as to their correct titles: *The Valley Whose Name Is Death* (Pasadena, 1940), and *Desert Yarns* (Los Angeles, 1946). The former contains a valuable bibliography. Mr. Edwards conducts a business-advisory service for the medical and dental professions in southern California.

Chemistry and quantitative analysis on the one hand, and child welfare on the other might try the elasticity of ordinary minds; but not that of a publisher whose only worry is that a text-book conform to his particular standards. Such is W. H. Freeman's business in life. He has been at it since graduation from Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., in 1926 and his employment by Macmillan as their college traveler. Mr. Freeman now has his own publishing company in San Francisco.

Walter A. Gabriel (captain, infantry, World War II), as well as his parents, Seymour and Anna Neuberg Gabriel, were born in San Francisco; his grandparents, natives of Germany, had settled in the bay city in the early 1860's. Mr. Gabriel graduated from the University of California in 1926. He studied also at the California School of Fine Arts and is pursuing his interest in art by membership in the California Society of Etchers.

After Emil Kardos (b. 1871, Hungary) had devoted the greater part of the seventy-seven years of his life to the theory and practice of mechanics—which included railway shops in Hungary; locomotive works, rifle and torpedo factories in Austria and Germany, and naval engineering at Pola on the Istrian Peninsula, followed by assignment to accompany Archduke Ferdinand of Austria on a world tour; then to London to work, with distinction, for a German firm in the reclamation of tin from tin clippings; emigration to America in 1915 (he became a naturalized citizen in 1923) and appointment to the staff of the Metal & Thermit Corp. in New York; a trip to California in 1920 to add to the corporation's two eastern plants a third in the west; the design and construction of this plant in South San Francisco and its enlargement to treat not only tin clippings and tin cans rejected by factories, but to recover tin and steel from waste and *used* tins

as well—after all this intense concentration in his field, Mr. Kardos has resigned from active participation in the firm, although he still acts in an advisory capacity.

Educational facilities at sea level and at a mile above were taken advantage of by Robert C. Mackenzie in completing the requirements for his college degrees (B.A., 1936; M.A., 1945), preparatory to teaching political science at the University of San Francisco. Before this assignment he taught at Villanova of the West in Ojai, Ventura County, and at Regis College in Denver. Along with his strictly political-science work has gone a study of history, especially of the Oxnard region and matters relating to the Civil War as it affected California.

Capt. E. C. May, USNR, is a native of Pasadena, having been born there two years after his parents' arrival in California in 1887.

Austin H. Peck, Jr., is, as he terms it, "one of those increasingly rare Southern California creatures, a native son"; and he has lived in the south continuously except while attending Stanford University. The editors would welcome a study, based on accredited statistical sources, into the actual state of the rarity of which Mr. Peck speaks, in Los Angeles County. It would make a companion piece to McKain and Miles' "Santa Barbara County Between Two Social Orders," published in the December 1946 QUARTERLY.

Readers of the QUARTERLY have become familiar with Caspar T. Hopkins' work in the early insurance business of San Francisco. Analogous knowledge covering the decades since 1900 is possessed by H. L. Simpson (b. 1876, Marion, Ind.) for both the Denver and San Francisco areas. During this period he has been western representative successively for fire insurance companies of Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, and is now serving as secretary-treasurer of the Fire Underwriters Association of the Pacific.

Mrs. Ellin Mackay Berlin would appreciate information on the whereabouts of letters, pictures, personal recollections, etc., regarding the Daniel Hungerford family, Dr. Edward Bryant and/or Marie Bryant Mackay (Mrs. John W. Mackay) during their residence in La Porte, Downieville, or Virginia City. Mrs. Berlin may be reached in care of this Society.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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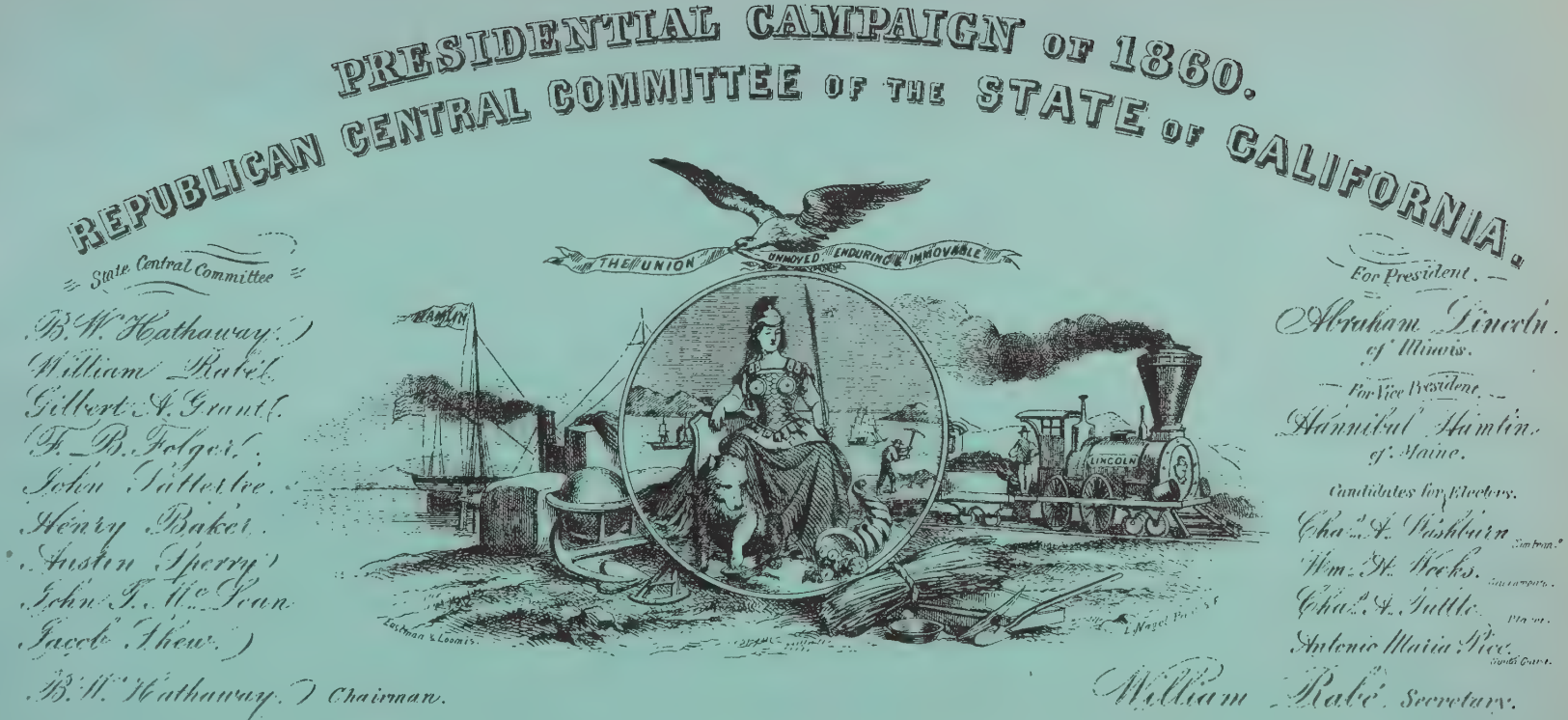

LETTERHEAD

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Republican Nominating Convention of 1860

A CALIFORNIA REPORT

By MILTON H. SHUTES

IN the year 1858 Abraham Lincoln began to impress himself on the national consciousness; two years later, he was formally introduced to the country as the Republican candidate for the presidency of the United States.

On Wednesday, May 16, 1860, about 456 Republican delegates from twenty-seven states met in the Chicago Wigwam to elect their nominee.[1] From California there went eight delegates and three alternates. They were Frederick P. Tracy and Charles Watrous of San Francisco County, D. W. Cheeseman of Butte County, D. J. Staples of San Joaquin County, A. A. Sargent of Nevada County, Sam Bell of Mariposa County, R. N. Mattheson of Sonoma County, and Leland Stanford of Sacramento County. The three alternates were James R. McDonald of Alameda County, J. C. Hinckley of Shasta County, and John P. Zane of San Francisco County. All were enthusiastic for William H. Seward, the most prominent man of the party.[2]

There were a number of favorite sons. The New York delegation, led by the more than adroit politician, "Lord Thurlow" Weed, were confident of nominating Senator Seward; Ohio urged the nomination of Senator Salmon P. Chase; Pennsylvania, Senator Simon Cameron; Missouri, Judge Edward Bates; Vermont, Senator Jacob Collimer; New Jersey, Senator William L. Dayton; and Illinois, a twice defeated aspirant to the U. S. Senate, Abraham Lincoln; and not far away stood a number of wistful "dark horses."[3]

The pre-convention interest in California centered on the Democratic convention which met on May 3 in Charleston, South Carolina. But the convention adjourned after the fifty-seventh ballot with no nominee. Stephen A. Douglas, repudiated at Charleston, was nominated in Baltimore, and John C. Breckenridge in Richmond, during June.[4] The Sacramento *Union* of May 19, 1860, devoted to Douglas democracy, did not take the Chicago Republican convention seriously; it disinterestedly stated that "this body met in Chicago on the 16th inst., and before this has doubtless nominated William H. Seward for the Presidency." The San Francisco *Chronicle* of the same date was "not greatly concerned" that California, which was "essentially and strongly Democratic," would accept the disastrous embrace of black Republicanism; that it was merely "a Party of opposition. . . ." On May 11, 1860, both the San Francisco *Alta California* and the *Bulletin*, assuming an air of political independence, were more interested in a Pacific

railroad. But when the news of the Charleston split reached California, the Chicago convention took on importance.

Californians were always impatient when waiting for news from the East. This was aggravated by the fact that the Pony Express, begun in the spring of that year, was delayed on its way through Nevada and Utah territories by the Piute war. On June 8 (over three weeks after the convention) Dr. J. de la Montagnie alighted from a Butterfield stage at its depot on Montgomery Street. Not knowing that the ponies had been stopped, he casually mentioned the Republican nominee to a friend. Soon the news was on the bulletin boards of the newspapers and telegraphed to the Sacramento *Union*, which doubted the story.[5] The Saturday morning *Alta* of June 9 editorialized on the "Rumored Nomination of Abraham Lincoln," and in the evening the *Bulletin* asked editorially "Is Lincoln Really the Chicago Nominee?" and then gave its reasons for believing the report correct.

Confirmation came early Sunday morning. The Monday morning *Alta* (June 11, 1860) stated that the "public mind [was] wholly unprepared.... Taken as a whole, the announcement... has given a severe shock to the leaders of the Republican party in California.... [It was] received with marked coolness at first [but] reviewing the action of the Chicago convention from an independent stand-point, we do not hesitate to say that the nomination of Mr. Lincoln is a very strong one... the contest now assumes a phase of far more exciting magnitude than it has held before." The Sacramento *Union* (June 11, 1860) reluctantly admitted that "this man Lincoln" was good but doubted that he would arouse much enthusiasm. The San Francisco *Herald* of the same day "rejoiced extravagantly at the prospect of an easy victory over such a ticket." On June 12 the San Francisco *Bulletin* gave more complete details of the convention and printed a "Pen and Ink Sketch of Abe Lincoln By One Who Knows Him." Two days later (June 14, 1860), the *Bulletin* explained the causes of "The Waning Democracy on the Pacific," and the next day published a letter which it captioned "A Grumble from a Republican." The letter concluded with, "So now I have had my grouch out, I shall go off and work for the ticket. Hurrah for—what's that man's name?—Abraham Lincoln."

This approximates the feeling in California when the chairman of the Republican State Central Committee received, by delayed Pony Express, the following letter from Frederick P. Tracy,[6] chairman of the California delegation to the Republican nominating convention in Chicago. No alteration in spelling, etc., has been made in the transcription. Occasional brackets introduce explanatory information. The original is in the possession of the present author.

Dr B W Hathaway[7] Lynn Mass May 30 1860

Dear Sir

I believe that all my duties as a delegate to the Chicago Convention, if not

brilliantly have been at least faithfully performed with one exception viz, that of writing to you which I think I promised to do My excuse must be an inflamation of my eyes which attacked me the day after the convention and is only now pretty thoroughly reduced and I have also the further excuse that I had to hurry here to see my brother who had come north from Florida to see me—a brother whom I had not seen for 24 years I trust in view of these facts that you will not blot me out of your books

You are already apprized by the proceedings of the Convention that I sent you from Chicago that our delegation whether overland or by sea arrived safely at Chicago as early as the night of the 14th We secured a parlor for Head Quarters at the Tremont House and were ready on the opening of the Convention to commence our duties Mr. Stanford and Mr. Matheson of the regular delegates being absent it was necessary to fill the vacancies by selection from among the three alternates present viz Messrs Zane, McDonald and Hinckley and the moderation of Mr. Zane cannot be too much commended in yielding his claims to those of the other gentlemen on the ground that his appointment would place three from San Francisco in the delegation

Of the conduct of the delegation in the convention I have the right to say that so far as I know not a single delegate is dissatisfied with a single thing that was done by any one of his associates The utmost harmony and good feeling prevailed among us and upon almost every point we acted as a unit and I may add I trust without offence that such was the course of our entire delegation throughout the convention as to secure the entire respect of all who had occasion to notice their proceedings

A small delegation from a State we could not hope to carry [in the coming election] it did not become us to make much noise in the convention and indeed the disposition was to crowd business and check speaking We therefore said little during the business of the body but I attempted to at least let them know that our silence was voluntary by making a speech as well as I knew how in the Wigwam on Wednesday night You can learn from others what sort of reception the crowded thousands gave to a California talk[8]

Our delegation did me the honor to select me as chairman and also to name me on the Committee on Resolutions and Platform the most important Committee of the Convention On the assembling of that Committee consisting of one from each state and territory I had the honor to be appointed one of the sub-committee of five to draft the Platform The subcommittee consisted of [William] Jessup of Pennsylvania [chairman] Horace Greeley of Oregon![9] [John A.] Kasson [of] Iowa Carl Schurz of Wisconsin and myself We sat from 7 o'clock in the evening until 3 o'clock the next day with but a brief recess and the adoption of our report without dissent by the general committee by the Convention and since by the whole Repub-

lican party shows I trust that we did not neglect our duty The Platform is growing upon my own admiration and I only wonder that with a certain fanatical element on the subcommittee we were able to produce so perfect an instrument

When the party had a platform it next required candidates I can only say that our delegation though not instructed for Gov Seward stood by him as a unit as long as there was any hope and such was their excess of fidelity to what they deemed the will of their constituents that even when Lincoln had received votes enough on the third ballot to nominate him and five of us thought it best to change our votes so as to vote for the successful candidate three still stood out for Seward and went down with the ship The friends of Seward are delighted with our course and I have occassion to know that we have the entire respect of the friends of Lincoln in what we have done

Mr Seward was my first choice All who know me know my profound admiration for him as a man and a statesman and I think him today the most rising hopeful man in the Union But if Seward had not been in the field my first choice among all the prominent republicans would have been Abram Lincoln and though we may regret that Seward could not succeed there is every reason to congratulate ourselves that Lincoln could Compare him with McLean and Bates who were possible candidates Think of [him] in comparison with others who were either before the convention or ready to come before it and then look at him standing alone in the light of his controversy with Douglas Why he looms up into giant proportions and we may proudly lift him upon our shields and proclaim him henceforth the leader of the free men Without a doubt without a misgiving I give my whole heart and my whole mind to the support of Abram Lincoln and hope that ere this California has done the same

For Vice President it was my intention to have nominated John Hickman but Kansas unexpectedly to me slipped in before me and named him You will see by the published correspondence that the California delegation requested the portrait of Mr Broderick to be placed in the Hall of the Convention It was placed there draped in mourning—the only portrait in the Convention—right at the side of the arms of California On all hands it was deemed a tasteful and touching tribute of respect on our part to the memory of California's dead Senator Well after that it followed of course that Hickman especially considering his position in Pennsylvania was our man for Vice President and when we were called on the first ballot I said "California remembers David C Broderick and casts eight votes for John Hickman" The words are not reported but it is proper that they should be known The result of that ballot showed that Hickman could not possibly be nominated and so therefore we followed the multitude and on the next ballot went for Hamlin

There was nothing then left but the appointment of the National Committee and the selection of Mr Cheeseman[10] to that post must I am sure be entirely satisfactory to all the Republicans of our state

I did not go down to the show of calling on Lincoln to announce his nomination for the reasons I have given in the opening of this letter for not writing sooner Mr Cheeseman accompanied by Mr Zane went down on Monday night following the Convention and they will represent California interests if there are any that require present attention

Thus I have as well as I could rendered to you semi officially an account of my stewardship I trust that it may be entirely satisfactory to you as it is to me for in the absolute consciousness that I have done the best I could I must at least find my own contentment

My movements for the future are not fixed I shall go to Connecticut tomorrow and possibly speak at Norwich or New London or both Watrous is at New London You will hear from me after that and as soon as I have anything to write I cannot repeat this letter to all my friends so I beg you to show such parts of it as you think proper or the whole if you will to such as feel an interest in our movements

Give my best regards to all my friends Tell them that I am in general good health and that I have not a single doubt of the election of Lincoln and Hamlin if November ever comes

Yours truly

F. P. Tracy

November never came for forty-five year old Judge Tracy. For Lincoln and Hamlin it brought victory even in California—by the very thin margin of 711 votes.[11]

NOTES

1. The Chicago Convention possessed three secondary distinctions. It was the first held in the Northwest, the first to use telegraph instruments, and the first to use a building designed and erected for the purpose. This "substantial wooden building" (180x100 feet; capacity 10,000), called The Wigwam, was located on the southeast corner of Lake and Market streets. The delegates were seated on both sides of the raised speakers' stand on the large platform, and were partly facing the stand and partly the audience. Ticket-holding men were given standing room on a terraced floor over the remainder of the building; and on three sides of the structure was a deep balcony with seats for ticket-holding "ladies and gentlemen." On the day for balloting for the presidential nominee, by guileful contrivance on the part of Illinoisans, the Wigwam was filled with Lincoln shouters. (P. Orman Ray, *The Convention That Nominated Lincoln*, University of Chicago Press, 1916, p. 6.)

2. Among the twenty-two nominated by the state convention, five delegates and five alternates were elected. Later, three more regular delegates were added from the list of nominees—Bell, Mattheson and Watrous. (W. J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions of California 1849-1892*, Sacramento, 1893, p. 109.) Hinckley, on the list, was made an alternate, and McDonald and Zane, not on the list, were sent as alternates,

presumably because they were available. (See Tracy letter.) The California delegates, along with those from Illinois and some 1200 other delegates, were quartered "painfully close" in the famed Tremont House, the "focus of political excitement." A. A. Sargent was one of the twenty-seven honorary vice-presidents of the convention—one from each state; D. J. Staples, one of the twenty-five secretaries. (Murat Halstead, *Political Caucuses of 1860*, Columbus, 1860, p. 122.)

3. Addison G. Proctor, *Lincoln and the Convention of 1860* (Chicago Historical Society, 1918), p. 5.

4. William E. Baringer, *Lincoln's Rise to Power* (Boston, 1937), pp. 322-23. There were seven national nominating conventions in 1860. The Democrats had five: two at Charleston, two at Baltimore, and one at Richmond; the Republicans, the one at Chicago; and the National Constitutional Union party convened at Baltimore. *(Ibid.*, p. 242.)

The platform of each of the four parties is outlined by John G. Nicolay in *A Short Life of Abraham Lincoln, Condensed from Nicolay and Hay's Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, 1911), pp. 149 ff. (1) The Republican party: slavery was wrong and its extension should be prohibited by Congress; candidates were Lincoln of Illinois for president, and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine for vice-president. (2) Douglas wing of the Democratic party: decision as to the prevention or establishment of slavery should be left to the people of a territory; candidates, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and Hershel V. Johnson of Georgia. (3) Buchanan wing of the Democratic party: slavery was beneficial and the institution should be extended; new slave states should be created; candidates, John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky and Joseph Lane of Oregon. (4) The Constitutional Union party professed to ignore the question of slavery; no political principles other than the constitution of the country, the union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws; candidates, John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts.

5. Sacramento *Union*, June 9, 1860.

6. Frederick Palmer Tracy (1815-1860), lawyer and orator, was born in Windham, Conn. At the age of seventeen he became an exhorter of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and, at twenty, an ordained preacher stationed at South Boston. From 1838 to 1841, he was active in anti-slavery societies in New England. Two years were spent in Europe recovering from serious attacks of pleurisy, and in 1849 he came to San Francisco. When the Republican party was organized in California in 1856, Tracy and Col. E. D. Baker were its leading oratorical advocates. The newspapers referred to him as "Judge" Tracy. He did not live to see Lincoln elected—after the convention he remained in the East making political speeches until his death the following October at Lowville, New York. An imposing funeral was held in Lynn, Mass.; and another, two years later, in San Francisco, as his will directed that his body be buried in Lone Mountain Cemetery. Here a 23-ft. obelisk of polished Placer County marble was "Erected by his California Friends, June 1877." San Francisco *Bulletin*, March 24, 1862; *Alta California*, March 24, 1862; *ibid.*, Oct. 6, 1877. Other references: Oscar T. Schuck, *History of the Bench and Bar in California* (Los Angeles, 1901), pp. 400-401 [inaccurate]; Harr Wagner, *Notable Speeches by Notable Speakers of the Greater West* (San Francisco, 1902), pp. 29-35. See also Tracy's *Oration Delivered before Society of California Pioneers at Celebration of 8th Anniversary of Admission of California into the Union* (San Francisco: *Alta* Job Office, 1858). Other orations: Sacramento *Union*, Apr. 27, 1859; *ibid.*, May 31, 1859; *ibid.*, Aug. 17, 1859; *ibid.*, July 13, 1859. (The above references were obtained through the kindness of Miss Mabel R. Gillis, California State Library.)

7. Barnaby W. Hathaway (1813-1867), M.D., arrived in San Francisco from Massachusetts on July 26, 1849. He practiced his profession for some time; was one of the organizers of the Republican party in California; state senator during 1862 and 1863; and one of the incorporators of the Southern Pacific Railroad, acting as its treasurer at the time of his death. He was an active member of the Society of California Pioneers. "San Francisco is called to mourn the loss of another of her prominent citizens, another of the worthy, high-minded, and noble body of Pioneers; ... whose loss is a public loss. ..." (San Francisco *Daily American Flag,* May 2, 1867.)

8. Delegate Tracy was frequently on his feet during the sessions and at times with enough wit to produce "Laughter." On the first night, when a motion was made to adjourn until nine in the morning, a delegate called out, "Make it ten." Tracy then got the floor to say, "Nine o'clock is too early. I have come a long way, many thousand miles, to attend this Convention and am tired and I can't get up so early." The ten o'clock motion prevailed. When, on the first ballot, a New Hampshire delegate voted for Frémont, Mr. Tracy protested with, "I wish to say, as there has been one vote cast for Mr. Frémont, that he is not a candidate before this Convention." *Proceedings of the First Three Republican National Conventions, 1856, 1860, 1864 ... as Reported by Horace Greeley* (Minneapolis, 1893), pp. 106, 150.

9. Three of the five Oregon delegates were eastern "proxies": Horace Greeley and Franklin Johnson of New York, and Eli Thayer of Massachusetts. Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage* (Columbia Univ. Press, 1943), p. 7.

10. Cheeseman was appointed superintendent of the U. S. mint in San Francisco by President Lincoln.

11. The four 1860 candidates received a national total of 4,682,069 popular votes and 303 electoral votes. Of these Lincoln received 1,866,452 popular and 180 electoral. In each of the fifteen populous states of the North, Lincoln received more than the combined opposition, but in California he received a little less than a third of the total, yet he won the state's four electoral votes. The total vote in California was 118,840: Lincoln, 39,173; Douglas, 38,516; Breckenridge, 34,334; and Bell, 6,817. Breckenridge, known as the secession candidate, received much less than one-third of the votes in California and less than one-fifth throughout the nation. The popular vote was overwhelmingly for union and peace, but within six months, war came. Davis, *op. cit.,* p. 127. The figures for the votes cast were taken from Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency* (Boston, 1916), I, 297. See also F. Lauriston Bullard, *Lincoln Herald,* Dec. 1946, pp. 6-7.

Birthdays of Urban Communities

By J. N. Bowman

(Continued)

BRANCIFORTE

June or July 1797

Branciforte is now part of Santa Cruz, located on the east side of San Lorenzo River and south of Water Street.

The Villa de Branciforte was founded by the Spanish government in 1797; on May 26, instructions had been issued to Gabriel Moraga to proceed to the selected site and erect houses for the settlers.[1] Just when he actually began work and when the settlers first arrived are not known, but it would be sometime in June or July of that year. The village had been planned for several years and the site selected, but the actual founding of the community on the ground was delayed. The founding settlers were few in number, consisting of nine colonists with their families, or a total of 17 persons. The town did not flourish; the padrón or census of 1827 reported the same number of families but with a total of 71 persons.[2] Secularization of Mission Santa Cruz in 1834 marked the rise of its resulting energetic urban community and the decline of the villa. In 1836 the latter was placed by the Monterey government under the jurisdiction of the pueblo in the capital.

Testifying in a private land grant case in 1862, José Bolcoff, who had been in this area since the middle 1820's and had been alcalde of Branciforte and Santa Cruz five times, and was in that office in Branciforte in 1834, said that "... in 1834 the two places [Branciforte and Mission Santa Cruz] were united and the village of Branciforte ceased." Manuel Rodríguez, in a similar private land grant case, had testified earlier (1855) that it was "... comprehended in the present town of Santa Cruz."[3] But the Spanish documents of the two pueblos indicate a lingering death for the villa. From 1834, onward, the names of the two communities are interchanged: Villa de Santa Cruz, Villa de Branciforte en Santa Cruz. As late as 1845, references were still made to the alcalde and to the justice of the peace of Branciforte, and in 1846 the justice of the peace of the Villa de Branciforte y Santa Cruz is noted. In 1866 when Santa Cruz was incorporated as a town, the town's boundary lines included the site of the old villa.

The birthday of the Villa de Branciforte was in June or July 1797, and its death extended from 1834 to 1846.

NOTES

1. Santa Cruz County Recorder's Office, Spanish documents (loose file); also, *Archivo de Santa Cruz* in Bancroft Library.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Private land grant cases 285 SD and 383 SD.

William Davis Merry Howard

By His Granddaughter,
Gertrude Howard Whitwell

W. D. M. HOWARD'S genealogy* can be traced back to 1620. More recently, his father, Eleazer Howard (1771-1836) married Lucy Merry, daughter of his partner, Daniel Merry, and at the birth of their fourth child in the old Merry homestead, corner North and Fleet Street, Boston, on May 2, 1819, he was given three names—the first after his grandfather, William Howard; the second after his maternal grandmother, who was Lucy Davis, sister of the Boston merchant, Joshua Davis; and the third was his mother's maiden name.

Merry & Howard were West Indian merchants and bankers. The records of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, show among other facts the extent of the wharfs along the Boston waterfront occupied by their ships from the first decade of 1800, on[1]; and when the junior partner's son sailed for California instead of staying at home and going to Harvard College, it seemed hardly out of line with the seagoing family tradition. He arrived in Monterey as cabin boy on the *California* in the early part of 1839, after which he proceeded with the ship to Los Angeles. Here he clerked for the merchant Abel Stearns for a year, then returned to the East. But he and the vessel were back again, he as supercargo, in 1842, via Honolulu, where he married the daughter of "Major" William R. Warren,[2] Mary Warren, a fellow-voyager, who had been attending a Boston school. When the *California* continued on to Monterey, the bride and groom were among the passengers.

William H. Davis, author of *Seventy-Five Years in California, 1831-1906*,[3] was a second cousin of my grandfather. I remember seeing him often at my brother Edward's house in San Mateo, and if the account (taken in part from Howard family papers placed at his disposal) in Davis' book were not accessible, it would be of interest to quote from it. For the present sketch, written as an introduction to some of my grandfather's letters, there are other sources from which I have been able to draw information, namely, transcripts of his testimony in the land-grant cases and newspaper items relating to him while he was still alive and afterwards. The land-grant testimony, copied from some twelve cases between February 26, 1852 and August 3, 1855, seems especially appropriate, as Howard was claimant for the San Mateo Rancho originally owned by Cayetano Arenas.

But in order to give as rapid a survey as possible of his life, another work,

*The line of descent of the Howard family (1620-1947), compiled by Mrs. Whitwell, is on file at the Society's headquarters. Ed.

The Annals of San Francisco,[4] has been consulted since the authors state in their biographical note, "Few names of individuals have occurred so frequently throughout our narrative as that of Wm. D. M. Howard." They record the fact that he represented a Boston house in the California hide trade, which kept him traveling continuously to and from different portions of the coast; that in 1845, as Mellus & Howard, he associated himself with Henry Mellus in the purchase of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment in San Francisco, and the discovery of gold gave a great impetus to their operations, but that some five years later the partnership was dissolved. I notice that Miss Adele Ogden, in her paper on the Boston hide droghers in Volume 8 of this QUARTERLY, page 301, mentions the former rivalry between my grandfather (agent for B. T. Reed) and Mellus, who was agent for Appleton & Co.; and that Howard was said to have been a superior salesman to Mellus—he sold more goods at higher prices.

By referring to each item about Howard throughout the *Annals* "narrative," a chronological account of his life can be pieced together, somewhat as follows: Appointed by Commodore R. F. Stockton to membership on a council, which included Eliab Grimes, Larkin, Alvarado and Vallejo, to meet him (Stockton) in San Francisco for the purpose of framing some form of government for California; elected in September 1847 a member of the San Francisco town council; appointed administrator of the William A. Leidesdorff estate in 1848[5]; elected a member of the town council for 1849; chosen in June 1849 to sit on a committee to arrange for the election of delegates to a state constitutional convention; selected as president of a public meeting at Portsmouth Square on July 16, 1849, to organize a force of "special constables" with which to combat the activities of The Hounds; elected on August 1, 1849, a supernumerary delegate to the constitutional convention of 1849; appointed on June 3, 1850, to serve on a committee to protest to the San Francisco council in the matter of high municipal salaries and high taxes; donor, with Mellus, of a "fine Hunaman engine," made in Boston, when a group of citizens formed themselves into a company of fire fighters, who shortly afterwards christened themselves "The Howard"; as Captain Howard he headed the California Guard, organized to ward off squatter riots which had started in Sacramento City in August 1850; elected president of the California Pioneers (Talbot H. Green, treasurer), in the latter part of October 1850; appointed to the executive committee of the Vigilantes in September 1851. I might remind the reader at this point that in May of that year he was just thirty-two.

Eighteen hundred and fifty-one saw a great part of San Francisco consumed by two fires. Along with other merchants, Howard suffered loss of goods and buildings. But in this year trouble came also from another, an unexpected quarter. I have already mentioned that in 1850-51 the firm of Mellus & Howard was dissolved, and that after this it became Howard &

Green. The same spring, his new partner, Talbot H. Green, was exposed as the embezzler Paul Geddes from the East. The shock to my grandfather's peace of mind can be imagined. However, he did all he could to get at the truth of the matter and to give his former friend whatever chance there was to clear himself. Green never forgot this, as a letter from him to Larkin, written upon news of Howard's death, shows: ". . . I would have taken part of his affliction on myself if it could have prolonged his life. . . ."[6]

During the next two years, as has been said above, occurred Howard's testimony in the land grant cases.

On February 24 [or 26; writing indistinct], 1852, appearing in behalf of Carmen Cibrian de Bernal and her child, José Jesús Bernal, claimants for the Rancho Rincon de las Salinas y Potrero Viejo (Case 5 ND, at p. 16), Howard stated that his age was "about" thirty-two, that he had resided in San Francisco for ten years, and that he knew the rancho in question, which, he said, had been occupied by José Cornelio Bernal in his life time and by his widow since, in all about ten years. The Bernals had lived there, pastured and raised cattle on it and cultivated a garden, and no one had disputed their title during that time except the squatters.

January 4, 1853, Howard appeared in behalf of Robert F. Stockton, claimant for the Potrero of Santa Clara Rancho (Case 77 ND, at p. 6). He affirmed that the signatures of Manuel Micheltorena, Manuel Jimeno, Diego Alexander Forbes, Isaac Brenham, and Guillermo Fisher were genuine. He was acquainted, he said, with this rancho; Forbes [who was in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's San Francisco property after the suicide of the agent, W. G. Rae, on January 19, 1845] occupied it from 1844—with a house and a considerable stock of cattle—until the latter part of 1847 when he sold it, Howard said, to Commodore Stockton, who had thereafter occupied it by his employees, with horses and cattle, and had cultivated a large portion of it.

Two days later, on January 6, 1853, Howard testified in Case 23 ND (Jimeno Rancho grants; Thomas O. Larkin and John S. Missroon, claimants), at p. 9, as to the genuineness of the handwriting of the following persons: Manuel Micheltorena, Francisco Arce, M. Jimeno, Talbot H. Green, Will Edward Hartnell, H. J. McDuffe [*sic*], and William R. Garner —all of whom he had seen write.

On January 19, 1853, he was called to testify in San Francisco in five different cases:

(1) Case 8 ND (the Lup-Yomi Rancho on the shores of Clear Lake, originally granted in 1844 by Micheltorena to Salvador Vallejo and Juan A. Vallejo; since when, Juan had reconveyed certain portions). The issue involved the conveyance, for the sum of $14,000, of this tract of land, by Salvador Vallejo and María de la Luz Carrillo his wife, of Napa, to Henry F. Teschemacher, Joseph P. Thompson, George H. Howard (W. D. M.'s

brother), and Julius K. Rose of San Francisco. In my grandfather's testimony (at p. 9), in behalf of the claimants, he said he was thirty-three and had resided in San Francisco between eleven and twelve years. The signatures of M. G. Vallejo, Manuel Micheltorena, and Francisco D. Arce, which he was called upon to affirm, were genuine, he said; he had seen them write.

(2) In Case 30 ND (Roblar de la Misería Grant in Sonoma County; Daniel Wright et al, claimants), at p. 16, his testimony likewise involved affirmation of signatures, viz., those of Pío Pico, José María Covarrubias, and José Matías Marino. They were, he said, all genuine.

(3) In Case 94 ND (Guilicos Grant in Sonoma County; Juan Wilson, claimant), at p. 5, Howard, testifying in behalf of the claimant, said that the signature of Juan B. Alvarado was genuine. Jacob P. Leese was also a witness (p. 6); he said he knew the rancho which was about six miles from Sonoma.

(4) Case 208 ND (The Island of Los Angeles or Angel Island in San Francisco Bay; Antonio María Osio, claimant), at p. 9: Howard, in behalf of the claimant, affirmed the genuineness of Juan B. Alvarado's and Manuel Jimeno's signatures—he had seen them write.

(5) Lastly, on this same day of January 19, 1853, he testified for the claimant, Thomas O. Larkin, in Case 358 ND (Flügge's Rancho or Boga, in Butte County on the Feather River), at p. 9, as to the signatures of Micheltorena, Jimeno, Pío Pico, and Juan Bandini, all of which he affirmed to be genuine.

A fortnight later (February 2, 1853), he testified again in this case (358 ND), at p. 10, regarding the signatures of Charles W. Flügge, David W. Alexander, and Abel Stearns. He had often seen them write, he said. The paper in question was an original, and was given by the said C. W. Flügge to Thomas O. Larkin; it was dated January 21, 1847, and concerned a rancho on the Feather River, Flügge executing it as guarantor, and Alexander and Stearns signing as attesting witnesses.

More direct details of my grandfather's life, aside from showing his acquaintance with many prominent persons of the time, as in the above cases, can be found in the file of Case 232 ND, Las Putas Rancho in Yolo and Solano Counties. His testimony (at p. 21) in behalf of the claimant, William Wolfskill, was taken in San Francisco on March 7 of this same year (1853). He stated that he was well acquainted with Wolfskill. "In the spring of 1846," he said, "I came in company with him from Los Angeles by land to this place. He came up for the purpose of obtaining judicial possession of the land mentioned, but the Americans had hoisted the flag at Monterey on the 7 of July a day or two before we reached that place. I had been living in Wolfskill's family for some time before he left Los

Angeles & knew the business on which he came to this part of the Territory with me." The reason why Wolfskill had not previously obtained possession, Howard testified, was his law suit with Baca [Vaca].

In Case 294 SD (a tract of land lying contiguous to the Santa Rosa Rancho; María Jesús Olivera de Cota, widow of Francisco Cota, et al, claimants), at p. 13, Howard testified on March 7, 1853, only as to the genuineness of the handwriting of Pío Pico and José M. Covarrubias.

Again on the same day (March 7, 1853), Howard appeared in San Francisco in Case 389 SD (principal edifice of La Puríssima Mission with the land and chattels thereto belonging), at p. 9, in behalf of the claimant, José Ramón Malo, the testimony being a matter of affirming the signatures of Pico and Covarrubias.

From his statement during his last appearance in the land-grant litigation—that on August 3, 1855 (some five months preceding his death and when he was so emaciated as hardly to be recognizable), before U. S. Circuit Judge Hall McAllister—it developed that Howard acted as agent for José de Jesús Noé, claimant for Mission Dolores Grant (Case 6 ND) whom, he said (p. 213), he had known since 1842. He was asked to confirm the signatures of Pico and Covarrubias. At p. 104, Alfred A. Green, of Green's Ranch about eight miles from San Francisco in the same county, testified that Noé gave Howard certain papers to take to Los Angeles, but the departmental assembly did not convene because the revolution was in progress, and Howard had brought Noé's papers back without the approval of the assembly. In Howard's own words (pp. 214 ff.): "Some time before the change of the Mexican for the American flag, Noé gave me his papers to take to Los Angeles to have them affirmed by the departmental assembly. I was to give them to Mr. [Eulogio] Celis, a gentleman residing in Los Angeles who was to attend to it. . . ." Howard knew, he said, that the papers were the title to the ranch; he also knew that Robert T. Riddle [Ridley?] had exchanged a ranch he had in Sonoma with Jacob P. Leese for the San Bruno; that the trade was made in 1842 or 1843, "before the Americans came here." He did not know about a lease from Leese to the town of San Francisco. Howard said that he had heard it reported recently that Pico had antedated the grant; he (Howard) had known the San Bruno Ranch as the Riddle [*sic*] Ranch since the exchange. The hills, he said, were "known as the San Bruno, & the Riddle Ranch is among them." Mr. Riddle did not live there.

In regard to his testifying in these cases, one or two of the less obvious points may be mentioned here: George H. Howard's purchase, with others (Case 8 ND), of a part of the Lup-Yomi Rancho explains certain references to Napa in an undated letter W. D. M. wrote to Agnes Poett prior to their marriage; J. M. Covarrubias (Case 30 ND, etc.), one-time secretary of Gov. Pío Pico, was a member of the California constitutional convention

of 1849, to which Howard was a delegate; the family of Antonio M. Osio (Case 208 ND) had been interested in the pearl fisheries of Lower California which would have appealed to the merchant—as well as the connoisseur—in my grandfather, and their acquaintance must have been furthered also by Osio's position as revenue officer at the ports of Monterey, San Francisco and Los Angeles under the Mexican regime; William Wolfskill's interest in viticulture would have been a bond between him and Howard (Case 232 ND), as will appear from the latter's enthusiasm for fruit as expressed in his letters to his wife; and, to mention one more such point, Charles W. Flügge (Case 358 ND) had been a store owner in Los Angeles, where Howard was said by Lieut. A. H. Gillespie to have had much influence as early as 1846, when he acted as go-between in the Americans' attempt to persuade Flores to allow adobe bricks to be brought ashore for the construction of ranges for cooking. Also mentioned in the lieutenant's dispatches to George Bancroft, secretary of the navy, was: "Mrs. Howard, the wife of an American merchant made my cylinders, while the carpenters fitted the gun upon the trail."[7]

The W. D. M. Howards spent considerable time in the southern part of Alta California during the 1840's, as this quotation and my grandfather's testimony in the Wolfskill land-grant case show. Another source of information on their acquaintance with the south is the "Journal of John McHenry Hollingsworth, a Lieutenant in Stephenson's Regiment in California." It is in the Templeton Crocker Collection at the California Historical Society and was published in the first volume of the Society's QUARTERLY. I am happy to call attention to it in this connection not only because of the journal's historical value but because the collector, Mr. Crocker, is an old friend of my family. Hollingsworth's entry for May 19, 1847, says: "Went to see Mrs. Howard last night, a pleasant evening." And again, on July 8, 1848: "I paid a visit to Mrs. H. this morning—she is the wife of an American. She was born in the Sandwich Islands, and is the daughter of a minister but educated in the United States. . . ." Some months before, Hollingsworth, a socially inclined young man, had made a diary entry regarding the senior partner of Mellus & Howard's activities along the same lines: February 10, 1848.—"There was a splendid ball given last night at the Mellis's [*sic*]—He was very particular in his invitations—"

The following newspaper items may be of interest at this point, as they bring out contemporary, and later, views on Howard's career and character.

Daily Alta California, January 20, 1856:

DEATH OF CAPT. HOWARD.—Capt. W. D. M. Howard died at his residence in the city this morning at 9 o'clock. He was one of the Pioneers of California and has been one of the most successful business men of San Francisco, having amassed a princely fortune since his residence in this State.

Same issue of *Alta:*

DEATH OF W. D. M. HOWARD.—It is with no ordinary feeling of respect that we are called upon to announce the death of Capt. W. D. M. Howard, one of the oldest and most influential residents of San Francisco. He had been in ill health for the last three years, during which time he endured a great deal of suffering from the slow but certain disease which has terminated his existence. Captain Howard came to California as early as 1839 as a supercargo in a ship from Boston....

About three years ago he visited the Atlantic States, and some of the Islands of the Atlantic for the benefit of his health and returned to his adopted home but little improved. Most of his time since then has been spent at his country residence at San Mateo. Every exertion was made that skill could suggest to prolong his existence, but the destroyer had marked his victim....

Also in same issue of the *Alta:*

CALIFORNIA PIONEERS.—The Pioneers met last evening, at thir rooms, over the bookstore of E. G. Hall, Montgomery street, to make some preliminary preparations for the purpose of bestowing the last rites over the remains of their late brother, Capt. Howard. A committee of three was appointed to report at an adjourned meeting, to be held today, at one o'clock, some advisable plan to be adopted by the Association.

Daily Alta, January 21, 1856:

With no common sorrow has the death of Mr. W. D. M. Howard, announced in this journal yesterday, filled the hearts of the entire community. It would be difficult indeed to name another citizen, whose death could have come home to so many Californians, with the force of a personal affliction....

Mr. Howard was in all respects a remarkable man. Of the early settlers in California—noticeable all of them for striking individual traits of character,—he was among the foremost. Few anywhere excelled him in sound judgment and practical sagacity; none in manly honesty and frankness.... In heart and soul a Californian, he was ever prompt to aid with his means and influence every movement for the advancement of this City and State. With the great agricultural interests of California, he was one of the first to identify himself; and so far as his health allowed,—and beyond that,—on his farms at San Mateo and elsewhere, he gave to the subject his personal attention.

Daily Alta, January 21, 1856:

FUNERAL OF CAPT. HOWARD.—The funeral service of the late Capt. W. D. M. Howard will take place to-day at Trinity Church. The California Pioneers will attend in a body, wearing the regalia of the Association. The members of the Society will meet at their rooms at 12 M., from whence they will proceed to the residence of Capt. Howard to form in procession.

Howard Engine Company No. 3 held a meeting yesterday to adopt some plan to testify their respect for the memory of the founder of the Company.... [other companies asked to join them] in celebrating the last sad rites over the remains of him from whom the Howards take their name. It is also expected that the California Guards, of which Company deceased was formerly a commander, will turn out in uniform to attend the funeral.

Sacramento *Daily Union*, January 21, 1856:

Another of the most distinguished of the California Pioneers has gone the way of all the living. W. D. M. Howard, one of the earliest of the citizens of San Francisco, and a gentleman of immense wealth and influence, died on Saturday last. A meeting of the

Pioneer Association, of that city, was called immediately thereafter, to make arrangements for attending his funeral.

Daily Alta, January 22, 1856:

FUNERAL OF CAPT. HOWARD.—The funeral obsequies of the late Capt. W. D. M. Howard took place yesterday at Trinity Church. A large concourse were in attendance and the ceremonies were solemn and imposing. The remains were followed to the Lone Mountain Cemetery by a large cortege, notwithstanding the rainy, inclement weather, and the excitement attendant upon the departure of the steamers.

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. See especially transcript of Vol. 292, folios 114 and 115, of Suffolk County Deeds, given in "The Howard Genealogy, 1640-1909," compiled by George Henry Howard (MS in the possession of the present author), pp. 53-54, 55-56.

2. A résumé of W. R. Warren's life appears in the "Pioneer Register," H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), V, 768. W. D. M. Howard's marriage to Mary Warren is said to have taken place at the home of Capt. Eliab Grimes, a native of Massachusetts and a Honolulu merchant of many years; but I have not been able to verify (as Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 788, says) that Captain Grimes adopted her.

3. W. H. Davis' *Seventy-five Years in California* ... (San Francisco, 1929), pp. 210-11, 225-29.

4. The authors of the *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855) were Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet. The biographical sketch of W. D. M. Howard with portrait occurs on pp. 779-80. For those who lack an index to the *Annals*, references to Howard and to Howard & Mellus may be found on pp. 196, 201, 205, 208, 222, 229, 279, 284, 285, 316, 512, 558, 619, 680, 696, 703, 704, 762, 822.

5. W. A. Leidesdorff entered the employ of Howard in 1846. On May 7th of that year he wrote to Thomas O. Larkin: "Mr. Howard has bought out the H. B. Co. house, and I have been appointed there agent to collect there outstanding debts...." ("Documentary—the Frémont Episode," this QUARTERLY, VI (March 1927), 80.) Leidesdorff died intestate on May 18, 1848, and Howard acted as administrator from June 5th of that year until Feb. 12, 1850. See pp. 21-23 in *Special Messages of Governor Bigler to the Legislature of 1854* (Sacramento, 1854), for "Report of the Select Committee on the Leidesdorff Estate," signed by Chas. A. Tuttle, *chairman;* B. C. Whiting and C. H. Bryan.

6. John Adam Hussey, "New Light upon Talbot H. Green," this QUARTERLY, XVIII (March 1939), p. 56.

7. "Gillespie and the Conquest of California...." Introduction by George Walcott Ames, Jr., this QUARTERLY, XVII (Dec. 1938), 326, 334.

The Founding of a Mojave Desert Community

Transcribed, with Foreword and Notes,

By Martha A. Chickering

LUCERNE VALLEY, San Bernardino County, is somewhat unique among California communities. After half a century of existence it still counts as an active citizen the man who founded it and who now, at eighty-seven years of age, is the one best fitted to be its historian.

In the language of physiographers the residents live in a "basin," rimmed on the north by the barren Ord and Granite mountains; on the east by Negro Buttes; on the west by a low range terminating in Strawberry Peak; and by the San Bernardino Range on the south. Within this basin, which is oblong—some 12 x 20 miles—and stands at an elevation of around 3000 feet, are between 1500 and 2000 people, mostly small ranchers. Dry washes, dotted with creosote bushes, yucca, and joshua trees,[1] are gashed into the sides of the enclosing desert mountains, but on the valley floor they give place to fields of alfalfa. A seven-year seasonal rainfall at Victorville, to the southwest of Lucerne Valley and 200-odd feet lower in elevation, averaged 5.66 inches.[2] Dry washes and alfalfa are made more understandable by a series of springs along the lower slopes of the San Bernardino Mountains, from Old Woman Springs on the east to Rock Springs at the western end; while beyond, on the floor of the valley, water seeps up over a wide green area known as Rabbit Springs (elevation 2950 feet).[3] On the promise of these springs, the community's foundations were laid in 1897 by James E. Goulding.

Desert and water had been brought together earlier in San Bernardino County: for example, by the Riverside Colony in 1871; Etiwanda with its vineyards, and the Ontario or "Model" Colony, both decorating the slope of Mount Cucamonga, in 1880-81 and 1883; the Hesperia Land and Water Company in 1886.[4] But the plans for these and similar developments were conceived along extensive lines, with provision not only for water and land but for streets, lights, schools and hotels—the Arrowhead Reservoir Company, organized in 1891 by Cincinnati capitalists, was said to be "a colossal undertaking." In Lucerne Valley it was a case of one man trying to ferret out and utilize some of nature's hydraulic and horticultural secrets by himself. Later on, as the reader will see, he "went down to the Cucamonga and Ontario country to ask."

Most of Jim ("Dad") Goulding's children have left the valley for the cities, only one son and daughter remaining. The ranch is no longer fully worked, and the great barns show signs of disrepair; nevertheless his original plantings of vines and pears and apples are producing crops that are used

today. How did they happen to be there? The story is told by Goulding himself, and, logically enough, he begins with the statement:

It All Hinged On Water

I came to California from Colorado. I had been in the White River country in Colorado, in the cow business. I and 73 others had a scrap on with the Indians. These Indians had recently been moved onto a new reservation across the Utah border,[6] but about a hundred renegade bucks under Chief Colorow had come back to White River. We settlers had petitioned the government to move them, but the government agent just kept saying they was all on the reservation. About then, an Indian killed a Mexican and that led to trouble.[7]

Garfield County, Colorado, had just been organized,[8] and the governor had appointed county officers till there could be an election. Jim Kendall, a cowman, was appointed acting sheriff, and he got out a warrant for this Indian who had killed the Mexican. At that time, in addition to ranching, I was doing some freighting from the end of the railroad at Gypsum Station to Glenwood, which would be the next big station when the irons were laid.[9] I was working with a friend, because you understand that this was in the late eighties, and in those days you didn't go out alone. I come into town and met up with Charlie Harris, a neighbor. He told me that Indians had fired on a sheriff's [Acting Sheriff Kendall's] posse and a notice had been posted calling for volunteers. I hadn't seen the notice, but Charlie's word was good enough for me. Jim Kendall was a friend of mine, and when my friend is in trouble, that means me! I had six horses in the freighting business, so I took one and turned the other five over to Fred, my partner. Fred was a man of family, and if I didn't come back, the horses were to be his.

Next morning, Charlie and I were in Meeker. Jim said, "Glad to see you fellers. That makes 74, and we can whip the Utes." For a week, we herded those Indians so hard they had to leave their sheep and goats behind—and of course we didn't eat any mutton! We'd been living out of our saddle bags. After the first day out, all we had was salt, and we lived by what we could kill, because we didn't have any pack-horses. Jim had said, "If we're going to catch Utes, we got to live like Utes," and he gave anyone who wanted to a chance to quit, but no one went back. We didn't risk an ambush; we scouted careful, and finally we overhauled them and forced them to fight on Colorado soil. Every Indian who could get away lit out for the reservation, and we went back to Rangely that night, as we had two killed and a lot hurt in our outfit.

But then 300 fresh Indians set out from the reservation for the battleground. There were three companies of U. S. Negro troops at the reservation. They had ordered the Indians to stop, but when they wouldn't, the soldiers went along with them to protect them, keeping between the Indians

and the posse camp. Next day, about two in the afternoon, we saw a file of soldiers coming down the trail carrying a white rag about ten feet long, with a message to Jim Kendall from the Indians, giving the Indians' terms. If the posse would return their ponies and if the government would pay them $80,000 they would go back to the reservation.

Meantime, about 200 more volunteers had joined up, who had been trying to catch up with the posse for a week. They had about forty packs of grub with them, and maybe we hadn't had a feed! Jim called up the boys and read the terms, and they gave the answer, "Nothing doing! Tell them we are surrendering nothing to the Indians. But whatever the government asks us to do we will do. We aren't fighting Uncle Sam."

So, after our two boys were buried, we took the ponies we had captured—about 250—to Meeker. There we turned them over to a representative of the government, outside of what was needed to replace our horses that had been killed. And that was the end of trouble on White River.

After that, I went to the southern part of the state, but had to go east to my father's funeral. I'd been raised in Washington County, Pennsylvania, and when I was back there, I met a girl I wanted to make my wife. I stayed east a year, but I couldn't stay in that country under any conditions. So I came back west, and got fixed up. I'd quit freighting, because there's nothing in freighting in the winter. In a year, I went back east and married the girl. She was waiting all right. She was the best pioneer woman in the west, although she had it all to learn. She'd never seen a blanket Indian till she came to Colorado with me!

I'd located in the San Juan district, in the Montezuma Valley, and was in the silver game. This was 1892, and silver dropped out of sight within thirty days after it was known that Cleveland was elected.[10] That put us across a barrel. I was a new-married man at that time, and I hated to admit that I couldn't make it, but I could see that the harder we worked the more money we lost.

My wife wanted to see the coast, and I said, "We're all washed up here." She said, "You're making the living; you decide." So I fitted up a team, and we drove across, I and my wife and baby. We were 56 days from the San Juan River to Chino, California. When I'd come to a place I couldn't get over, I'd fix it so I could. The Mormons were good travelers[11]; they always sent scouts ahead and knew where they would camp that night, but we couldn't do that. When we left San Juan there was no place for supplies till Gallup, 125 miles—three days very hard travel with a team. We met few people coming across, except at the little towns along the railroad. About eight miles east of Flagstaff, which is high country, we ran into snow, and I had to break trail for the horses. The team was all in when we got to Flagstaff, so we shipped the wagon and contents, and my wife and baby to Ash Fork by train, while I rode one horse and the other followed. It took me

two days, but it cost a dollar a mile for what I'd shipped, and they wanted $20 apiece for the horses besides, so I saved $40 that way. This was March or April, in 1895.

Where did I get water? At springs and small streams till we got to the Colorado River. Beyond that, the Santa Fe was hauling water out to some of its stations from Newberry Springs, and I'd get water at those stations. After I'd gotten into California, a section foreman wasn't going to let me have water for my horses. "Water's too scarce," he said. "Water service won't be here for two or three days, and I have to play safe." So I went in the station, and wrote out a telegram to the superintendent of the road, saying I was marooned at that place with horses without water. "I can't take that telegram," the foreman says. "It's as much as my job is worth." But water I had to have, and I wasn't going to take a gun to get it if I could do it with a pen. The telegram did the job, and he gave me the water at 25 cts a bucket.

We entered California at old Fort Mojave. There was an Indian school there at that time, but no soldiers. The Indians run a little ferry across the Colorado River, a flat-bottomed scow. The water was about five feet deep, and the Indians would wade in and tow the scow across. We had to lay over there three days, waiting for a wind-storm to subside; they were afraid the waves would sink the scow. Then we paid the Indians $5 to take us across. Later on, the counties on each side of the river in Arizona and California arranged with the Santa Fe to cross on the railroad bridge below Needles. The railroad laid planking and kept a man at the bridge who knew when to expect trains, and people paid the railroad to drive over. Sometimes there would be dozens of wagons bunched on each side, waiting to get across.

From Fort Mojave, we went to Daggett, then on to Victorville[12]—called Victor, then—on the road past Stoddard Well. They had been shipping ore from the Calico mines[13] to Oro Grande[14] to be milled, and there was a tank at Stoddard Well where they could water the horses. At Victorville, we laid over for a week. We got the first mess of fresh fish (cats) we'd had since we left Colorado. There was a store there run by Ed Dolch,[15] father of Lee Dolch. When I went in and asked how much eggs were, he said fifteen cents a dozen. I'd been paying eighty cents. When I found I could buy fine hay at the Verde Ranch[16] for $8 a ton, I told my wife we were going to lay over here awhile and rest. Victorville in those days consisted of one grocery store, four saloons, and a boarding-house. The post-office was in the store.

Then we went on to San Bernardino, down the Old Mormon Trail, through Cajon Pass.[17] There's a monument marking the old trail now, just a little above the railroad station of Cajon. It took us three days to get to San Bernardino. We went to the head of the Cajon Pass the first day, and

took two days down. The road was pretty steep and rough in those days, and I got down by rough-locking one of the wheels; that is, I fastened a chain around the wheel and to the body of the wagon so that the knot in the chain would come under the wheel when we started down. With the drag of the knot and the brake on the other wheel, we could make it all right. The second night we spent about where Devore station is now. All of that part of the basin was in alfalfa and barley when I first went down. We got to San Bernardino the third day and stayed there a week. Then we heard about a sugar factory at Chino Ranch,[18] and we drove there in another two days, and I went to haying. There were about 42,000 acres in that grant, and lot of good horses, running and saddle, and cattle. Then there was an eight hundred ton plant for making sugar out of beets, the first sugar-beet factory in the state, so far as I know.[19] The ranch was owned by Richard Gird.[20] Later on, I saw old Dick drive off with nothing but the buggy team he drove off with and whatever was in his wife's name.[21] In those days, that country was almost as much of a desert as up here in the Mojave.

But the fogs changed my mind about living on the coast. I had two years of it, then I said, "I'm going back on the other side of the range, where the sun shines." So the summer of 1896, I came out here with a buckboard and team. I had been all over the Mojave River country before I came here. Here, in what is now Lucerne Valley, I scouted along the mountains all the way from Old Woman Springs to Rock Springs. From the mountains, I could see Rabbit Springs, and I came to the conclusion that there is an underground obstacle that created Rabbit Springs, and that there would be plenty of water underground along that obstacle.[22] I put in some test holes and was sure I was right.

So I built a cabin with a small surface well, and my wife and two children came out to live on November 22, 1897. It was cold then, and we hauled wood from the mountains for our fireplace. Later, we had a stove. I was on that land by "squatters' rights," of course.[23] I'd lived in desert country before, and I had to prove there was enough water to do something with before I used up my homestead rights. It was five years before I filed, but then it was on the same land; that's the Box S Ranch, where we live today. People poked fun at the idea of trying to raise a lot of water right out of the desert. There was an old man living at Rabbit Springs when we came, named Pete Davidson,[24] but he never believed you could do any real growing on the desert. Teams stopped at Rabbit Springs for water; there was a good deal of traffic at that time through here to the mines in the mountains, such as the Rose and the Black Hawk mines.[25]

But water to grow things was what I was really after. I *knew* there was water there. So Shorty Mulholland,[26] a chronic prospector, came out from Chino to help me, with the idea of homesteading if we found water. Shorty

knew blacksmithing and we made a drill to be run by one-horse power. We went down with a four-inch casing 140 or 150 feet, and water came up and ran over in the prospect tunnel. After that, the question was how to get a rig and really go down.

Meantime, I had to make a living for my family, so I went to prospecting. I uncovered some rich ore and I would sack it and haul it back to the house. In that way, I accumulated several tons, but still didn't have a mine, because it would pinch out. I tried to sell the ore in 1898, but couldn't get an offer I could afford to take. So I hauled granite from the hills, and built an arastra—a home-made mill for crushing ore—which could be run by one-horse power. We could grind about 100 pounds an hour. I amalgamated in the arastra, and then panned out the amalgam by hand. It assayed about $200 a ton, and that helped a lot on the bread-line.

Meantime, of course, I had fixed up the cabin so the family could be comfortable even though I still hadn't filed. I set out trees for shade, first off; I had lived in desert country before. I planted some vegetables for home use, which could be watered from the little well. I had had a few young stock on the Chino Ranch and I brought them up in a wagon, branded them and turned them loose. I had wanted the Ace of Spades for my brand but I found that was taken, so I registered the Box S. Them cattle had all the range around; there was no competition and no one to bother! I butchered at the cabin, and sold meat by the quarter and side to the mines. Around a wet spring I put in some grain on a chance. I got about a ton of wheat hay off three acres of ground; that's not much but it came in awful handy because I didn't have to haul hay. I did any kind of pay work I could find, too, like doing assessment work for non-resident owners of claims. I'd work till we had $1000 or $1500 in the bank, and then I'd spend it prospecting for water. And later on, people would come along and say, "You was awful lucky to file in here where this artesian water is!"

Well, to get back—finally I sent clear to Illinois for a little hydraulic rig, and put down another well; that was about 1905. About 195 feet, the water ran over the top of the casing, and it's still running. That's the well down by the corner of the store. Now I could get to farming.

Most ranching at that time in this country was on the bottom lands, particularly along the Mojave River. I had farmed in desert country, but where I had plenty of gravity water; this pumping was a new game to me. And when it came to vines and fruit, I knew I had it all to learn—my main experience had been in mining, cattle and horses. So when I got ready to plant, I went down to the Cucamonga and Ontario country to ask; some of the old Mormon stock had been there a long time, and knew a lot about planting trees. If a man don't know something and thinks he does, he's up against a hard situation; if he knows he don't know, he's got a chance to

JAMES GOULDING'S FIRST PROSPECT HOLE
AND WELL RIG

From original kindly loaned by Mr. Goulding

learn from them as do know. Of course, these men didn't really know entirely, because they weren't working in the desert.

I put out 150 vines of Sultana, Muscat and Mission grapes first, just to try. I tried a few Concord, but they didn't do at all. But all these 150 vines died. Why? Well, these same kinds of grapes did fine for me later, but I had to learn to care for them. I'd been told it was enough to run water around them once a month. It didn't work, that was all, but it didn't take me forever to find that out and quit. I learned they had to have water clear out, so the roots would spread.

For trees, I put peaches in to start with, because I realized they'd come into bearing earliest. I put apples and peaches alternate, because peach trees would get old first, and I didn't want to lose a whole orchard at once. I did, though—that whole first orchard went to the jackrabbits. I only did that once; didn't put in any more trees till I put a good rabbit fence around. At first I'd had a three-foot wire, and you may not believe it, but the jacks would jump it. When I put two feet above that, I commenced to have success.

I put in some apricots and almonds, but they bloom too early, and the frost catches them, at this altitude (3000 feet). The same can be said for cherries. But what I'd really always wanted was an apple orchard and I was going to have a good one. So I put in about twenty different kinds of apples to begin with, two or three of each kind to experiment.[27] I also put in some pears, prunes, plums and peaches, and tried them all out. When I'd learned about them, I put in an orchard of something over 200 trees, most of them in about 1913. As a result of my trying them out, I picked for apples the white winter pearmain, two varieties of winesaps, the northern spy, mammoth black twig, Rome beauty, and boiken. Gradually, I've centered on apples and pears. The vines are the same I started with, most of them put in in 1910 and 1911.

Sure it took time; it took from three to six years just to learn the results of that experimental orchard, but they've done all right. After the well came in, homesteaders began to flock to the valley, and there are a lot of those original families still living on their homesteads. Of course you see lots of abandoned land, but that's because some people came in who didn't have money enough, or patience enough, to build a good well and a house, not because water failed. They just cleared land and put in a crop first thing, and then they had to give up.

The name of the valley? Why, it was like this. Dr. Pahl, a friend of mine in Los Angeles, used to come out here, and he later located the west half of Section 12.[28] I first met him at the old Verde Ranch, where he was taking care of Jim Brown who had been throwed off a bronco and was laying at the ranch with a broken leg.[29] Dr. Pahl used to come out to my place after that, and sometimes he brought a friend with him, a photographer, who

took pictures of my old arastra, the well rig, and the little lake we made. One night Doc said, "Jim, this valley or basin ought to have a name." I said, "Well, if we get water, I know from past experience that we can raise plenty of alfalfa in this county, or lucerne, as the Mormons called it in southwest Colorado, when I first went there. Why not call it Lucerne Valley?" Then I forgot about it. But the next time I went to town (town was Los Angeles then), I looked up Dr. Pahl in the Good Samaritan Hospital where he worked, and the first thing he said was, "Hello, Jim! How are things out in Lucerne Valley?"

That's how the name started. That was in 1905.

NOTES

1. To casual observers it is sometimes surprising to learn that the Spanish dagger (*Yucca mohavensis* Garg.) and the joshua tree (*Yucca brevifolia* Engelm.) belong to the same genus. Descriptions of them may be found in W. L. Jepson's *Manual of the Flowering Plants of California* (Berkeley, 1923-25), pp. 246-47, under the lily family. The creosote bush (*Larrea tridentata* DC.), also called greasewood, is evergreen. Jepson, *op. cit.*, p. 604.

2. Rainfall figures are taken from A. E. Kocher and Stanley W. Cosby, "Soil Survey of the Victorville Area, California," in *Field Operations of the Bureau of Soils, 1921* (Washington, D. C., 1926), p. 628. Records of temperatures at the Dobie Ranch in Victor Valley, 1909-16, show a summer maximum (July 1909) of 111°. Several times in December, January and February a low of 12° has been registered, and on occasions it may fall below 0°. See Mojave River Commission, W. F. McClure, chairman, "Report on the Utilization of Mojave River for Irrigation in Victor Valley, California," *Bulletin 5*, State of Calif. Dept. of Engineering (Sacramento, 1918), hereinafter called *Bulletin 5*, p. 35.

3. Location of the springs is given on the map prepared by the Office of Public Roads and Rural Engineering, accompanying *Bulletin 5*, as above in Note 2.

4. Throughout J. A. Alexander's *The Life of George Chaffee* (Melbourne, 1928) may be found references to Etiwanda, Ontario, and other irrigation projects. See also *Bulletin 5*, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff; and various references to the subject in Glenn S. Dumke's *The Boom of the Eighties* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1944).

5. Goulding's Box S Ranch appears on the map included with *Bulletin 5* as above.

6. See *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1887* (Washington, D. C., 1887), p. LXVIII. The report to the commissioner made by T. A. Byrnes, U. S. Indian agent at Uintah Agency (*ibid.*, pp. 201-204), confirms Goulding's story in many details, although the former gives the point of view of the Indians as against that of the settlers.

7. The Indian agent said that the trouble started over the theft of two horses by the Indians.

8. Garfield County was organized in 1883, from territory formerly a part of the reservation assigned to the Utes. Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado* (Chicago, 1889-95), IV, 129.

9. The railroad referred to was the Denver & Rio Grande, which was completed to Glenwood Springs in October 1887. Hall, *op. cit.*, IV, 132. LeRoy Hafen, *Colorado, the Story of a Western Commonwealth* (Denver, 1933), p. 208, says that thousands of men and animals were employed in the business of packing and wagon-freighting in the late 1870's.

10. During the 1880's the prosperity of Colorado depended upon silver, its most important product. In the presidential campaign of 1892, both Benjamin Harrison, Republican, and Grover Cleveland, Democrat, were opposed to free silver; the Populist party, agitating for free coinage of silver, consequently won many votes. After Cleveland took office for his second term in the spring of 1893, business began to tighten, and when in June the report became current that the mints of India had ceased silver coinage, the price of the metal dropped to new depths. Hafen, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

11. See H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), VI, 520-21, for arrival of Mormons in the San Bernardino area in 1851.

12. Named for J. N. Victor who was superintendent of the California Southern Railway when it was extended from San Bernardino through Cajon Pass to Barstow in 1885. Later the road became part of the Santa Fe system. See "Early History of Victor Valley," in Victor Valley *News Herald*, Dec. 19, 1930; also *Illustrated History of Southern California* (Chicago, 1890), p. 485.

13. Calico, eight miles northeast of Barstow, was the center of silver mining in California from 1881 to 1892, when the drop in the price of silver forced the mines to close. Board of Supervisors of San Bernardino County, *Old Government Road across the Mojave Desert to the Colorado River* (n.p., n.d.), Article No. 21, "Calico" (typewritten; in San Bernardino County Library).

14. John Brown, Jr., and James Boyd, *History of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties* (Madison, Wisc., 1922), p. 108, discuss the costs involved in hauling ores from the mines at Calico to the stamp mills at Orogrande.

15. At that time Ed Dolch was storekeeper, postmaster, and constable at Victorville. His son, Lee Dolch, is now district agricultural inspector for San Bernardino County.

16. Rancho Verde is located three and a half miles south of Victorville on the Mojave River. Historically it is important as the place where the pioneer ranchers of 1866-67 gathered before attacking the marauding Indians of the Mojave area. *Old Government Road . . ., op. cit.*, Article No. 24, "Verde Rancho." Part of the acreage is now a guest ranch.

17. The origin of Cajon Pass is connected with activity along the San Andreas rift. H. F. Raup, *San Bernardino, California – Settlement and Growth of a Pass-Site City* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1940), pp. 1-3.

18. See *Illustrated History of Southern California, op. cit.*, p. 481, for an account of the Chino Ranch.

19. Richard Gird, "The Culture of Sugar Beets," in *Trans. Calif. State Agr. Soc. during the Year 1893* (Sacramento, 1894), pp. 102-107, describes the participation of the Oxnard brothers of Philadelphia in his work. See likewise C. C. Howell, letter of Dec. 6, 1894, to the Sacramento *Bee* (reprinted in *Trans. State Agr. Soc. . . . 1895*, pp. 129-32), for history of the Chino sugar factory. J. Garnett Holmes et al, "Soil Survey of San Bernardino Valley, California," in *Field Operations of the Bureau of Soils, 1904* (Washington, D. C., 1905), p. 1120, mention the suitability of the moist, slightly alkaline land on and in the vicinity of the Chino Ranch for the growth of sugar beets.

20. "The Break of Day in Chino—a Collection of Incidents and Impressions," compiled and edited by Edwin Rhodes, Chino, 1944 (MS in San Bernardino County Library), pp. 60-63.

21. Goulding was apparently in the minority in his opinion at the time. Compare *History of San Bernardino County* (San Francisco: Wallace W. Elliot, 1883), p. 18.

22. David G. Thompson, "The Mojave Desert Region, California . . .," *Water-Supply Paper No. 578* (Washington, D. C., 1929), pp. 617-18, believes that the artesian condi-

tions present in a small zone near Goulding's Box S Ranch result from faulting rather than from the presence of a buried rock barrier.

23. Cattle had been run on the land before Goulding came, but no claim had been proved up.

24. According to *The Desert Grapevine*, Lucerne Valley, California, I (May 1946), 3, Peter Davidson was the first white man actually to homestead land in Lucerne Valley, by putting up an adobe cabin and planting cottonwoods. He died on Jan. 17, 1908. A marker has recently been placed on his grave by the Lucerne Valley Women's Club and a railing erected around it.

25. Many smaller mines on the north slope of the San Bernardino Range were approached through what is now Lucerne Valley. See map (Note 2, above) on which the Holcomb Valley and the Bear Valley roads are indicated. Compare *Illustrated History of Southern California, op. cit.*, p. 431.

26. Shorty Mulholland was no relation to William Mulholland, the engineer of the Los Angeles aqueduct.

27. His old "Record Book" gives the following varieties of apples and pears set out by Goulding, the names being spelled as entered, and with only his rare use of the customary capital letters. Mr. H. M. Butterfield, Agricultural Extension Division of the University of California, Berkeley, kindly checked the list against two standard works issued by the New York State Dep't of Agriculture—S. A. Beach's *Apples of New York* (Geneva, 1905), and U. P. Hedrick's *Pears of New York* (Geneva, 1921). As a result, occasional identifying names have been inserted below, in brackets.

yellow transparent
maiden's blush
sweetbough
pumpkin sweet
early harvest
pear-main [White Winter Pearmain]
golden sweet [Northern Sweet]
baxter
fall pippin
winter [?] domino [Domine]
sops of wine
winesap
delicious
winter [?] twenty ounze [Twenty Ounce]
Sutton's beauty [Sutton]
banana
opalescent
northen spy
bismark [Bismarck]
Arkansas black [black?]
Rome beauty
boiken
western golden [?]
red astrican [Astrachan or Astracan, usual spelling]
baldwin [;] white pippin
mammoth black twig

Pear varieties were: Spanish, Bartlett, Flemish.

See *Bulletin 5, op. cit.*, pp. 42 and 44, for duty of water for apples and pears in Lucerne Valley; and also the number of orchards in the valley, with acreages. (The date of *Bulletin 5* was 1918.)

28. Dr. P. C. H. Pahl was associated with his wife, Mrs. Harriet W. Pahl, in the management of the Good Samaritan Hospital, Los Angeles, from 1900 to 1911. After leaving the Good Samaritan, Mrs. Pahl became superintendent of the Angeles Hospital and later she and Dr. Pahl built the Pahl Hospital, a small private institution in Los Angeles. Both are now deceased. (Information contained in letter to present editor from Thomas C. Marshall, office of the secretary, Hospital of the Good Samaritan, Feb. 6, 1948.) Apropos of the name, some will recall a Lucerne Valley in Tulare County. A descriptive folder (1887), issued in the California wheat-boom era, is in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

29. Third son of John Brown, Sr., who homesteaded the Verde Ranch.

Selected Letters of Osgood Church Wheeler

With Introduction and Notes

By SANDFORD FLEMING

(Continued)

RELIGIOUS NEEDS

To the American Baptist Home Mission Society;
published in *Home Mission Record*, I (Nov. 1849), 11.

San Francisco, Sept. 1, 1849

In this, my second quarterly report, I am permitted to say that the amount of labor usual among ministers in preaching, attending prayer meetings, lecturing and making pastoral visits, has been performed, and in addition to it, we have organized a church and formed a Sabbath school of 30 scholars and 7 teachers, with a library of 300 volumes. We have also a Bible class of 13 pupils, a regularly established prayer meeting weekly, and also a monthly concert of prayer. Besides this, our church and its friends, have built a place of worship 30 by 50 feet, capable of seating 340 persons, which is well filled on the Sabbath with a very intelligent, enterprising and sagacious class of men. When in connexion with this I allude to numerous visits among the sick, and burials of the dead, and time occupied in administering to the wants of the needy and distressed, including journeys on horseback to the extent of three or four hundred miles, you will see that I must have been busy in my field.

But why will not some good, self-sacrificing ministers of Christ come to my relief? Here I am in the midst of a population of upwards of 70,000 Americans, increasing at the rate of 1000 per week—a population that must reach 100,000 ere the close of the year 1849, and not a single Baptist minister besides myself, *given wholly to the work of the ministry!* When the last steamer anchored in the harbour I hastened on board hoping to greet Bro. O———,[28] whom I had been expecting, but he was not on board, and your letter by her informs me he will not probably come. . . .

Nothing need be apprehended of any belligerent movement of foreigners in this region. Things have settled down in quiet, and we feel as safe here as we should in New York. It is impossible for people in the Atlantic States to understand and appreciate the state of things here. Great things should be attempted for the moral and religious benefit of this people and that immediately. . . .

DIFFICULTIES OF RELIGIOUS WORK

To the New York *Recorder*,
V (Nov. 28, 1849), 138.

San Francisco, Sept., 1849

California is, in all its features, so entirely unlike anything in the history of the world, that it does injustice to all else and fails to represent Cali-

fornia fairly, to compare it with anything "in heaven above," &c. . . . The papers which accompany this will give you the secular news. I will therefore briefly notice the religious movements. In the towns of Monterey, San Jose, San Francisco, Benicia, Stockton, Sacramento, and Colusa, the voice of the preacher is regularly heard. Monterey, San Jose and this place have Presbyterian ministers, (New School;) this place and Benicia, Presbyterian, (Old School;) this place, Stockton, and Sacramento, Episcopalian; this place and Sacramento, Methodists; Stockton, Christian; Colusa, a Campbellite; and this place a Baptist. *We* have here a chapel 30 by 50 feet, which is the only one in California now in use; others are in process of erection. The Methodists at this place have one 25 by 40 feet nearly completed. Their missionary (Rev. Mr. Taylor from Baltimore[29]) is here, and has preached for us once, much to our gratification. A large number of ministers of various denominations have arrived here, and are "in the mines," while the "harvest" on many a whitening field is wasting for the want of laborers.

Though we have more of gambling, drinking, and the multiform host of their concomitants, than any other place yet known to any who visit us, yet were you to find yourself next Sabbath morning in my desk, and about to preach a discourse which was not the result of your *best* efforts, the fruits of many a toilsome, painful, *thinking* hour, a single glance at those before you would make you shudder. Your eye would meet the scrutinizing gaze of the experienced traveller, conversant with men and things of every clime, the meditative look of the learned professor, the piercing, apprehensive glance of the well-skilled commercialist, the sagacious features of the projector and speculator; in short, men of high attainments in every department of agreeable, useful, or ornamental life; a company of some three hundred, nearly all men,—some twenty or thirty ladies,—but of both sexes those who would grace the best circles in any town or city in the States, the choicest spirits and most highly cultivated minds of the thousands upon thousands who have come from the best society on the continent. And these remarks are equally true with reference to the other three congregations in the place. Never were men placed in positions more imperatively demanding thorough preparations for the pulpit, than those in California. And still we have no "other Gospel" to preach. Men are sinners, lost and ruined—the objects of Divine mercy if they are saved.

. . . While our congregations are thus respectable and respectful, thus interesting and (apparently) interested, the great body of men press right on, without regard to God, religion, or futurity, entirely absorbed in the one great object of getting "gold." I know not what to think, nor what to say of my *prospects*. My chapel is *full*, (perhaps forty went away without getting seats last Sabbath,) and I never saw better attention, not half as much emotion. Yet my congregation presents more than one hundred new

countenances every Sabbath. They hear once and are gone! . . . If there is *missionary* ground on earth, it is in California. While I preach in my "own native tongue wherein I was born" "the wonderful works of God," my hearers can translate my sermons into eight or ten of the most prominent and popular languages on earth. Here are the studious German and polite Parisian, the servile Ethiopic and stupefied Malay, the turbaned Turk and haughty Tartar, the atheistic Chinese and selfish Persian, the degraded Hindoo and isolated Japanese, the Hawaiian and Feejee, with Spaniard, Roman, Portuguese and Dane, Russian, Swede and Yankee, all walking through the streets and listening at the door or sitting *in* the church. With such a work, in such a field, can you not send us help? But let no man come unless "wholly given to the work." . . .

LABORS OF A MISSIONARY

To the American Baptist Home Mission Society;
published in *Home Mission Record*, I (Dec. 1849), 15.

San Francisco, September, 1849

You will get some idea of how I spend my *Sabbaths*, from an extract from my diary of Aug. 5th. A very warm morning, went about a mile, and preached at 9 o'clock, among the tents, in the open air, upon the beach, from these words: "What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" A vast number present, all of whom paid me the best of attention. . . . At 10½ attended a funeral in "pleasant valley," about 1½ miles from town. At 11 preached in the chapel to a full house of most intelligent and interesting hearers. . . . At 1½ P.M., preached to seamen on the wharf, from these words, "And let me not be ashamed of my hope." Psalms 119:116. A large number and the best of attention. At 3 o'clock, met and led the Sabbath School; 8 new scholars, and 1 new teacher; 15 male adults in my Bible class. At 4 o'clock the church assembled for the celebration of the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. . . .In the evening went and lighted up my chapel, and preached with great freedom from the words, "Turn ye, turn ye," &c., Ezekiel 33:11. . . . This Sabbath's labor (being communion day) is a little extra, and yet there is something extra almost every Sabbath.

. . . [Monday, September 17, 1849.] Found several gentlemen at the house, waiting to see me, with letters of introduction from Boston, St. Louis, Memphis, New Orleans, and Marion, Ala. Much time consumed in conversation. At evening, went and lighted up the chapel, and after waiting alone (with my wife) about an hour four strangers came in, and with them we enjoyed our prayer meeting. During the day, I have received calls from 14 Baptist brethren (just arrived) many of whom interest me much. But nearly all of them are "bound for the mines," where some of them will most likely die. . . . These things, with some shopping necessary to a house-keeper, have made the work of what would, at home, have

been my resting day. Twenty-three vessels, all full of passengers, have arrived to-day. I shall have *some* calls to-morrow.

The above may be considered fair descriptions, in essential respects, of my Sabbath and my week-day work. Although I can not think you will believe me idle, yet I sorrow much that I can not give a *better* account of my stewardship. Several hours every day must be devoted to the calls of strangers. About 4000 have *landed* within a week, and the overland trail is pouring in upon us in a perfect torrent. All, or nearly all, are houseless, homeless, and friendless. In such circumstances, the minister, or the missionary, is the first person sought for by multitudes who care nothing for his services when in the bosom of their families and surrounded by the comforts of home. If a man is sick, and without a place, and no funds—if he dies, and has no friend at hand—if one has lost all he had, and suffers remorse—if a ship's company or a mining association has got into trouble with their captain, and have not wherewith to *fee* a lawyer and a thousand other equally reasonable cases—the missionary may be consulted, and his time consumed, free of charge. Hence, a "run of custom" of some 12 to 20 cases a day. But we love our work, and would not leave it for any other post on earth.

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IMPROVING

To the American Baptist Home Mission Society;
published in *Home Mission Record*, I (Jan. 1850), 19-20.

San Francisco, Oct. 10, 1849

We are not, as was predicted by so many when we left New York, and has been said by so many since, in a barbarous land. Great numbers of those who have followed us, and now surround us, are well worthy of a pilgrim ancestry. It is true that our town, and all other towns in the State, harbor a host of gamblers and other worthless characters, who own and occupy some of the best and most prominent locations in the city; but I only speak what I see, when I say that they are already seeking more retired places for their unhallowed pursuits. They may not be decreasing in numbers; it is possible, indeed, that they increase; but the religious influence of the place compels them to retreat from public observation. There is so much regard for the Lord's day, and for the ordinances of his house, that every place of worship in town is well filled; and if we had that large church edifice now completed, which we have requested, it would be crowded. . . .

During the last month the arrivals here from the sea and overland routes have produced a very confused state of things among us. It is next to impossible for me to study between 9 o'clock A.M. and 8 o'clock P.M., unless I refuse to see those to whom you and a hundred other brethren have given letters of introduction to me. I *cannot* say to the stranger in a strange land, thousands of miles from his home—knowing no one in whom he can confide—disappointed and broken in spirits from a seven, instead of a four

months voyage—enfeebled with disease, and disappointed in every thing, "I cannot spare time to see you." No! while my strength lasts, I *must* . . . not only *say* but *show* him that I am his "neighbor," his "friend," his "brother." If, therefore, my letters exhibit the haste of crowded time, or the langour of midnight exhaustion, you will perceive that present oppressive duties forbid my doing better. My labors are arduous—my duties constant, and my responsibilities cumulative beyond description. But the Divine promise, "as thy day is, so shall thy strength be," is true. . . . Our chapel is crowded, and a more attentive, interesting and intelligent audience was probably never addressed by mortal man. Do any of our friends at home fear to come to California on account of the rudeness and unformed state of society, let them consider that there are now here more than half a score of faithful ministers, laboring with more success than has been the lot of men to enjoy in any new country of which history informs us. Although California needs good families more than any other one thing, yet our female society is of the highest order for both piety and intelligence, and is almost daily increasing in numbers. . . .

A SHORT PAGE OF HISTORY

To the American Baptist Home Mission Society;
published in *Home Mission Record*, I (Jan. 1850), 20.

San Francisco, Oct. 20, 1849

In my letter of 10th instant, I intimated my intention to furnish you with a short page of history. . . . on the 5th of August, preached the dedicatory sermon for the church; on the 14th adopted measures for the formation of a Baptist society, and organized the "Bible Society of California," an auxiliary to the A.[merican] and F.[oreign] Bible Society—the first in the country.

On the 19th, (last evening,) the Church and Society, at their first union meeting, voluntarily, unanimously and with great interest, passed the three following resolutions:

1st. That we henceforth assume the entire support of our pastor.

2d. That his salary for the ensuing year, commencing on the first of next month, be TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS.

3d. That said salary be paid monthly, in *advance*.

This evening we have received as a candidate for baptism a most interesting convert—an excellent gentleman from Virginia—whom I expect to baptize to-morrow.[30]

A VISIT TO SACRAMENTO

To the American Baptist Home Mission Society;
published in *Home Mission Record*, I (Feb. 1850), 23-24.

Sacramento City, Nov. 8, 1849

By the politeness of Simmons, Hutchinson & Co., I am presented with

a "complimentary" ticket, which carries and boards me free of expense, wherever and whenever I choose to travel on their steamers. For this noble act of generosity, you will join me in expressions of gratitude to these honorable gentlemen. I left the anchorage at San Francisco on board the steamer McKim, about two o'clock on Tuesday morning, and reached this place, 115 miles (as it is now ascertained to be by measurement), at 4½ P.M. of the same day. The river scenery far surpasses what I had expected to see. Its barren and desolate banks, after the first 20 or 30 miles, gradually become covered with shrubbery and trees, until it is completely shut in by a fine grove on either side, from ¼ to ½ mile in width; and the monotony is entirely broken by the vast number of squatters who have pitched their tents, erected their loghouses, or fixed up for their shelter their immense covered wagons, in which they have traveled across the continent. The last 20 or 30 miles I took my station at "mast-head," from whence I could overlook the skirts of timber and view the prairies, literally full of catle, horses, and mules. Beyond, in the distance—beyond the horizon, as if springing from another world, the lofty mountains were seen towering up, covered with snow, and reflecting the sunbeam with peculiar lustre. This "town in the woods" reminds one of fairy tales, and fictitious productions of the magician's wand. The timber here is large, mostly oak and sycamore, and extends back from the river half or three-quarters of a mile. This is cut down so far as is absolutely necessary to make room for buildings, and that which remains gives the place an air not unlike that of the oldest and best *shaded* towns in New England. It contained only a few houses, perhaps 6 or 8, when we arrived in the country, and now has, as good judges tell me, at least 10,000 souls dwelling in every sort of tenements (excepting, of course, any of very *good* quality). There is a line of shipping three quarters of a mile long, lying up to the bank and discharging from their decks merely by the use of a plank.

We have a number of good brethren here. We had a meeting last night, and they will probably complete their organization as a church, before I leave. . . . I intend to stay about a week and aid them, by which time I hope to see them fairly started. But Oh! what will they do for a man "to go in and out before them"—an under-shepherd, to lead and instruct them! . . . When will *some* Baptist ministers who *love* the cause of Christ enough to forego the ease of the East, be sent to this *field* of *fields?* I go this afternoon to Vernon and Fremont, some 30 or 40 miles above at the head of navigation, to see if I can there secure lots for *our* churches, &c. I have never been so impressed with the vastness and importance of this field, as since I commenced this trip. I must not, cannot rest, and see such a field lie uncultivated. . . .

PREPARING FOR EXPANSION

To the American Baptist Home Mission Society;
published in *Home Mission Record*, I (April 1850), 31.

San Francisco, Nov. 30 [29], 1849

We have now had nine days of as beautiful weather as I ever saw and our church is to be covered "water-tight" to-morrow "Deo volente." The weather and the face of nature is more like a forward *May* than an approaching December. The grass and herbage and wild flowers are springing into life and bloom with surprising vigor. Yesterday was observed as a day of thanksgiving; our church was well attended and I tried to preach from Psalms 78:72. The town is rapidly filling up and thus throwing upon our hands more work and I only pray for strength to do it. During my tour up the Sacramento, of which I have apprized you, I was absent 10 days; was out in the rain two nights and though unwell nearly all the time, I labored almost without cessation. As a consequence I came home much debilitated and am now far from strong. On Wednesday of this week there was an auction sale of a vast number of town lots in a section which will soon fill up. I had looked out a good spot for a Baptist meeting-house, about 138 feet square, and secured means to pay for it. When the lot was named I said to the crowd, gentlemen, I wish to purchase this lot to be reserved sacredly for a church and will give $200 for it. "Let him have it," "take it, take it," was the general cry. But a man who came out here as a Mormon preacher [probably Samuel Brannan] and has become rich, said, "I'll give $250." I said no more but heard some one else bid $300. B. again bid and was over bid, till it reached $400, and was struck off to Mr. Tiffany of St. Louis; who immediately upon the announcement said so as to be heard by all, "Mr. Wheeler the lot is yours, at your bid." He then came along and gave me his hand, (I had not known him before) and said "though I am a Presbyterian, I was educated in a Baptist college, and I would have run that lot to $1000 and then given it to you, rather than see that fellow get it in such a way." You can easily imagine that the Mormon won for himself no enviable laurels. Today Mr. Tiffany sent a messenger saying if I would give him the names of the men whom I wished to have hold the property in trust, he would make the deed and *give* us the lot.

I start at 8 to morrow morning for San Jose to see if I can secure something there, whether you ever send any one there to occupy it or not. I am still without the shadow of a coadjutor. . . .

When will the reapers come? Temporally and pecuniarily I am not suffering, nor will I complain while I have a blanket to wrap around me or a crust to sustain me, but I do feel badly to see my frame growing emaciated and my strength failing in the beginning of my unaided attempts to occupy so large a field. If I had the strength of Omnipotence and the

gift of ubiquity I would gladly exercise them both to life's latest day in preaching the cross of Christ. . . .

A VISIT TO SAN JOSE

To American Baptist Home Mission Society;
published in *Home Mission Record*, I (Aug. 1850), 45.

San Francisco, May, 1850

Tuesday, May 14th, 1850. Left home at 7, A.M., with my wife and child in a buggy for San Jose. After 3 miles of sandy road and 3 more of a slightly hilly, but hard and smooth character, we reached the valley lying between the coast range and the south arm of San Francisco Bay. At this season of the year the whole valley, with the adjacent hill, and mountain slope, on the west, may be justly styled one vast flower bed, full of clover (of several varieties) wild barley and wild oats; spotted and spangled here and there with patches of mustard and groves of evergreen Oak;—the whole made to *live* with almost innumerable flocks and herds of cattle and horses. . . .

Wednesday 15th. . . . During the day visited several Baptist families [in San Jose], and suggested to them the propriety of organizing a church. The idea is every where met with favor.

Saturday 18th. Rode ten miles to Alviso, (Alveeso) and also to Santa Clara, three miles in another direction; visited several families of newly arrived emigrants—they are mostly Baptists.

Monday 20th. Yesterday . . . drove sixteen miles to a new town, where I had agreed to preach. There has never been public religious services in the place. At 11 o'clock I preached to an intelligent and interesting audience, from Hebrews 6:9.

Then rode back to San Jose in time to meet the brethren and sisters for the organization of the church at 3 o'clock, P.M. . . . I read to them the summary of faith, which we adopted at San Francisco, to which there was a perfectly unanimous agreement, whereupon the body thus agreeing, resolved to take the name of the "First Baptist Church of Christ in San Jose." We then proceeded to the election of Deacons; the choice fell upon our esteemed brother Appleton, late of the Amity street church, New York, and Dea. Benj. Snelling, late of Missouri, and for twenty years past an office bearer in the church. After the choice of deacons, clerk, &c., I proceeded in behalf of our denomination to present the hand of fellowship to them. . . .

Wednesday 22d. Made arrangements for my departure for home, and at 3 o'clock left; rode to Santa Clara, three miles, and stopped for the night at Dea. Snelling's. Having sent on an appointment, a good congregation assembled in the evening, and I preached to them from 1. Peter 2:7. Met a brother Morris who has been a Baptist minister in Alabama twenty years,[31] and also several other Baptists whom I had not before seen. It was really

cheering to gather again around a large Missouri fire, and . . . engage in singing, preaching, and prayer; I love these good old fashioned meetings, they are so free from the appendages which the Apostles did not know.

The good deacon and his lady gave us one of their large emigrant waggons for our lodging room last night, and it was truly a most delightful one.

Thursday 23d. This morning, after spending some hours in visiting, and making arrangements to secure a lot (300 feet square,) for a Baptist church here, we rode to an isolated neighborhood, some twelve miles distant, where I had sent an appointment to preach this evening.

When we arrived my friend had not received my letter, and was on the point of starting for San Jose, on business, but he voluntarily changed his purpose, turned out my horse, saddled two of his for Mrs. W. and me to ride to some of the neighboring dwellings, while he and a little girl took horses and went in other directions to notify the people of *preaching* in the evening. It was a thing entirely unheard of in that part of the valley. They came out on horses, mules, donkeys, and foot, so that the assembly was good. I preached from Psalms 17:15. . . .

(To be continued)

NOTES

28. The first appointment to California noted in the *Minutes* of the American Baptist Home Mission Society after Wheeler is that of Rev. H. W. Read, under date of Feb. 1, 1849. He found such need in New Mexico that he secured the consent of the Society to his remaining there. Apparently the man here referred to by Wheeler was one of a large number of ministers approached with a view to appointment to California who declined. His name was J. W. Osborn. (See *Minutes,* American Baptist Home Mission Society, March 1 and 29, 1849.)

29. Rev. William Taylor, later Bishop Taylor, reached San Francisco on Sept. 22, 1849. Drury, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

30. This was Col. Thomas H. Kellam of the U. S. army. An interesting account of the baptism occurs in Wheeler's *Story of Early Baptist History . . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-31.

31. Rev. Joseph Morris, who served without pastoral charge.

Mexican Insurgent Provisional Coinage

By Roy Hill

FROM a comparison with other coins of Mexico, the object described in the short article by Robert F. Heizer in this Society's December 1947 Quarterly (pp. 349-50) appears to be one of the numerous types issued by Gen. José María Morelos y Pavón, nationalist leader during the Mexican struggle for independence over 135 years ago. Morelos was a Catholic priest who first served in a military capacity under Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costillo, one of the initiators of the uprising against Spain. Upon the latter's execution by the royalists on July 31, 1811, there followed the "Epoch of Morelos," as it is called by H. I. Priestley in his *The Mexican Nation* (New York, 1924, pp. 223-39). Part of the work of raising and training a revolutionary army was provision for a coinage, with the result that such pieces as that described by Dr. Heizer became current.

The illustration opposite page 349 of his article is a replica of an 8 Reales, dated 1813, and is typical of the design used in the Mexican insurgent provisional coinages of the period. It has the Morelos counterstamp with which the general revalidated his own as well as some of the royalist coinages. Anyone wishing to study the matter further will find A. F. Pradeau's *Numismatic History of Mexico* (Los Angeles, 1938) helpful both in text and illustrations. It was in recognition of his work in preparing this volume that Dr. Pradeau was made a fellow of the Pacific Coast Numismatic Society, and a presentation copy is in the library of the society.

Elisha Oscar Crosby

A California Lawyer in the Eighteen-Fifties

By Charles A. Barker

In 1944, during a period of research in certain aspects of California life and thought in the middle nineteenth century, the present writer ran upon a manuscript in the Huntington Library which presented several side-views of interest. This is the autobiography of a forty-niner, which I edited for the library and the library published as the *Memoirs of Elisha Oscar Crosby, Reminiscences of California and Guatemala from 1849 to 1864* (San Marino, 1945). Three years later the findings of other investigators permit a postscript on Crosby, and the editors of this Quarterly have invited me to assemble the pieces, and try to supply another glimpse of an interesting minor figure.

The *Memoirs* themselves have both the virtues and the faults of brevity and compactness. They begin with a short statement of Crosby's origins in central New York, and his early career as a lawyer in New York City. Then there is a lively account of his journey by way of the Isthmus of Panama to California in the very first wave of the Gold Rush; and, next, what in the lack of much competition may claim to be the amplest personal recollections in print which describe the California constitutional convention in Monterey, in the early fall of 1849, and the immediate launching of the state government. This much occupies about three-fifths of the *Memoirs*. Although not overgenerous in autobiographical detail, Crosby thus far does tell the reader what he needs to know about the man whose reminiscences are before him.

But after 1850, when Crosby ended his short term as state senator and closed his career in state politics, the author almost eliminates his personal story from the text. He gives us two essays on affairs, out of his experience, and then closes the manuscript with a sort of appendix. The first essay contains his comment, as a practising lawyer, on the thorny process of confirming the titles of Mexican landholders in California, after the United States had taken over and established a land commission and federal courts within the state. The other essay, which is the last section of the *Memoirs* proper, reports Crosby's brief career as American minister to Guatemala, sent by Lincoln during the first month of his administration. The mission is inherently interesting, as in its first phase it represented a last-minute effort by Lincoln and Seward and their advisers to arrange for colonizing American slaves in Central America—a new and more convenient Liberia conceived to relieve tensions at home, before they snapped at Sumter and swung the country into Civil War. This story Crosby tells effectively, and

with some return to the earlier autobiographical vein. Thus the weak spot in the *Memoirs* is the decade of the 1850's. Where one would like facts, illustrations, and cases, to make vivid and personal the economic and legal processes of settling the land titles, Crosby the writer of reminiscences is most remote from his readers.

This is the point at which new Crosby material found in California has come to the rescue and made possible the present postscript to the *Memoirs*. Among the finders of new material is Mr. Guy C. Miller, the city historian of Palo Alto. More than two years ago Mr. Miller discovered that on April 10, 1853, an Elisha O. Crosby purchased for $2000 from Teodor and Secundino Robles 250 acres of the Rincon de San Francisquito Rancho,[1] a Mexican-period grant located partly within the present city of Palo Alto and partly outside it, extending south. Crosby named his purchase Mayfield Farm.[2] Mr. Miller says that the farm supplied the place-name for the nearby settlement and post-office (opened in 1855) of Mayfield, California. He has discovered, also, that Crosby's ranch was conveyed by a sheriff deed, of September 23, 1856, to John W. Armstrong, who paid $10,701 for the place,[3] and built on it the gingerbread mansion which remained as a landmark until destroyed by fire in 1936.

Any minimum doubts, which Mr. Miller and I may have shared at the time of his finding, about whether or not his landholder Elisha O. Crosby is also my writer of reminiscences, have been cleared up by other new findings reported below. The point, that the man can now be associated with a particular place during the middle 1850's, adds something agreeably definite to the life-story, where the *Memoirs* are silent. Such an investment and such a loss as 250 acres on the San Francisco peninsula suggest a personal reason to help explain why Crosby was so sharp and critical in the *Memoirs* (pp. 65-73) about the American fumbling of Mexican land-title questions after the conquest of California. Again, Mr. Miller's datum on the sheriff sale of the Mayfield Farm in 1856 coincides with the evidence already in hand that Crosby went bankrupt at about this time. And finally, Mr. Miller is now able to date the bankruptcy as in early December, 1856, and to specify that Crosby's liabilities were listed as $60,424, as against assets which amounted to $30,000.[4]

The second source of new Crosby material is a sheaf of transcripts of certain United States District Court records of land cases, now in the collection of the California Historical Society. The transcripts include nine cases which show Crosby either as attorney or deponent in the settlement of Mexican titles.[5] (In the *Memoirs* Crosby speaks of having handled "something over a hundred" of the total 812 Mexican-period title-claims filed in California.[6]) There is little to be learned from the chronology of these cases: they all originated in the four-year period, from January 1852 to March 1856, during which the land commission, which was set up by act

of Congress in 1851 to settle the Spanish and Mexican titles, actually operated.[7] But the Crosby cases do supply an indication of the kind of business Crosby did during the middle 1850's. They articulate the man with places and people in a way which his *Memoirs* fail to do.

In the first place, a case of 1852, in which Crosby acted as attorney for the claimant, a widow named María Antonia Mesa, concerned a ranch of 2200-odd acres, Rinconada del Arroyo de San Franciscquito, which adjoined the Robles' ranch into which Crosby was buying.[8] In this instance the claimant won confirmation of title from the United States District Court after she had lost the beginning round of the legal battle, in the form of first rejection of claim by the land commission, for reason of unclear boundaries.[9] Doña Antonia Mesa's land had been first granted by Governor Alvarado in 1841, and the same is true of the Robles' ranch including the Mayfield parcel.[10] While Crosby's record would indicate that Palo Alto land, then as now, was not to be bought cheap, his personal experiences may be behind the comment in the *Memoirs* (p. 69) that the Mexican-grant claimants would have preferred to divide and sell their lands at reasonable prices, rather than hold them unbroken, as the long legal processes of settling titles compelled them for the time being to try to do. In the case of the Rincon de San Francisquito Rancho, where the legal processes moved rather rapidly and without serious hitches (although title was by no means confirmed as early as Crosby's purchase in 1853), not only Crosby, but also another lawyer, Jeremiah Clarke, who was attorney for the Robles, purchased a considerable holding.[11]

The other land cases, where the name of Crosby appears, all concern grants spread wide over the state, far from Mayfield Farm and far from Crosby's base of professional operations, in San Francisco.[12] The most distant case is that of Isaac Williams, who claimed over twenty-two thousand acres in San Bernardino County and temporarily employed Crosby as attorney.[13] Crosby acted also with Julian Workman, either as attorney or associate, or both, in presenting claim to the land "called Ex-Mission of San Gabriel with its appurtenances." After eight years and following challenges from government authorities in Washington, Workman and Crosby won a confirmation which, although it excepted from the title any rights in the churches, gardens or other improvements of the mission and any lands in excess of eleven leagues, did settle on that amount or less, according to the boundaries.[14] Again in southern California, Crosby served as counsel for Isaac J. Sparks, a trapper and storekeeper in Santa Barbara who claimed successfully two square leagues, namely, the Pismo grant in San Luis Obispo County.[15] Crosby's general tone, in the *Memoirs*, of having had large concern in the land settlements, seems to be upheld by these cases from the southern part of the state.

Two other cases, which involved Crosby as a deponent merely, give us

crumbs of biographical evidence. In one of these, Crosby declared his residence, late in 1854, to be in San Jose; and in another, a year later, he said merely that he resided in Santa Clara County, California.[16] This closes a little the gap of blankness about Crosby's personal situation. At least part of the decade of the 1850's he lived in San Jose, the little city he enjoyed when he was state senator and the government was there, and the place he thought should have been made the permanent capital.[17] And, as the San Francisco *Directory* for 1859 lists Crosby with a residence at Kearny and Vallejo streets, it seems that for a period of months at least he lived in that city before departure, late that year, for Guatemala. Whether or not he actually lived at Mayfield Farm for a year or so, before it was sold, present evidence does not say.

Finally, the longest and most interesting case in the land-grant litigation, namely, the claim of George Swat (or Schwartz) for three square leagues on the Sacramento River, known as Nueva Flandria, takes us, with Crosby as counsel, into the intimate processes of settling the confused Mexican titles.[18] The principal in the case appeared as the heir of his brother, Juan de Swat, a remembered and eccentric figure who had crossed the plains to California with John Bidwell. According to claim this first Swat had solicited a grant in 1844 through John A. Sutter, then commandant in the area for the government of Mexico, and had received it, in consideration of military services to Mexico, in a grant by General Micheltorena. But the claim was refused confirmation by the land commission in 1855, and Crosby placed it before the district court in 1857. In his own admission as attorney the documentary evidence was in poor shape: he told the court that Juan de Swat had given him the title papers in 1853, but that after Juan's death and while business took him to southern California some of the papers were taken by George Swat, the claimant, and never returned. Crosby argued nonetheless that the claim was a good and just one, still capable of proving, and that gross and irreparable injury would befall the claimant, whose lands Juan de Swat had improved extensively, if the grant were not confirmed. Crosby relied heavily on oral testimony. In court, a dozen years after the event, he produced as witnesses Captain Sutter,[19] the one-time commandant whose name was now known 'round the world, and John Bidwell, whose fame and wealth were also great. Both knew the Swats, their history, land, and investments, and both supported the claim. But their testimony was confused, contradictory as to date at least, and thoroughly imprecise. Judge Hoffman rejected the claim, and censured the claimant for having introduced documents proved in court to be fraudulent.[20] The full truth, and the morality of the case, do not appear in the court records. But Crosby must have been incensed, whether in humiliation or righteous indignation, at the judge's words.

From the transcripts of the testimony we know that Crosby knew first-

hand, as he said in the *Memoirs*, the complexities, expenses, and frustrations of making good the Mexican land titles. From these cases, Crosby's plea, in the *Memoirs*,[21] seems well taken: that Mexican title-holders should have been given opportunity immediately after the conquest to present "such written evidence of title and right of possession as they might have received and chose to present, together with such oral testimony in support of their claims, either of perfected titles or inchoate titles, or rights of possession as they could furnish," in order to establish their rights prior to the coming of the Americans. Modern scholarship would agree that speed, convenience, and practicality of procedure, which were lacking, would have comprised the essence of justice to the old California title-holders. The new Crosby cases and the Crosby *Memoirs* conform with each other in illuminating the failure of the American authorities in those respects, during the 1850's.

The third supply of new Crosby data comes from a new acquisition of the Huntington Library. This is a manuscript which has been identified as Crosby's own by Mrs. Marion Tinling, the member of the library's research staff who has had most to do with the manuscript original of the *Memoirs*. The new document is marked "by E.O.C.," and is written in the same hand, the library authorities think, as the part of the *Memoirs* which Crosby himself wrote. It is thirty-seven pages long, and is entitled, "Journal on a Voyage via Clipper Ship 'Giulitta,' San Francisco to Guatemala, Nov. 1, 1859-Feb. 28, 1860." This is not the earliest Crosby document,[22] but it is much the oldest composition by him that we have. He was forty-two at the time of writing.

The "Journal" is a series of travel notes. A dozen entries, made at sea between November 10, 1859, the date of sailing, and November 25, the date of sighting the volcanoes Fuego and Agua on the coast of Guatemala, comprise one-third of the manuscript. These entries are mostly brief and malicious comments on Crosby's captain and the few Frenchmen and Jews who were his fellow passengers. They were merely the diversion of a seasick and homesick voyager: "How much I regret my little cottage home and all its tidy, quiet, comfort and elegance. Let those go to sea who like it. It is not I." The great part of the remainder of the manuscript is the long entry of February 28, 1860, written in Guatemala. At this point Crosby describes a trip to the Indian ruins at Kahlu, and he retells a romantic legend, "The Indian Maiden bride of Rabinal," which he heard from the "venerable alcalde" of the place. The "Journal" closes with an entry which refers to March 7, 1860, and which indicates that Crosby had visited Totonicapan and Antigua. While the manuscript as a whole is disappointing by comparison with the *Memoirs*, and does not deserve publication, it does round out a little the Crosby story.

On the side of biography, the "Journal" supplies two or three hints about the change in Crosby's affairs which took him to New York late in 1860,

and from the eastern seaboard after a few months to Guatemala the following spring. These are matters which the *Memoirs* omit altogether, except for the reasons of state why Lincoln created the diplomatic mission on which Crosby was sent. In the first place, an early comment in the "Journal" sounds as though Crosby regarded departure from California in November 1859 as a turning-point in his life. "So good by California for many a day perhaps forever," he wrote. "With the soft zephyrs of the tropics and its dreamy languor I will think only of the happy days and bright moments past in my 10 years and 8 months in fabled California." But Crosby does not explain, and the reader is left to guess, what turn of the wheel caused this painful expatriation. To the present writer, the explanation of ill health is the best guess. Such an explanation fits into the larger context of the *Memoirs*, for Crosby's first removal from New York to California was partly a search for a softer climate; and we know, also, that he attributed his impairment of vision, in 1877, to overwork.[23] The explanation of ill health conforms, moreover, to the mood of the new "Journal." In contrast with the vigor of the *Memoirs*, this is despondent, dull writing, misanthropic and out of character with the later Crosby. The writer was perhaps "not himself," and a change of climate and situation may well have been on doctor's orders.

From the *Memoirs* we know that before election time in 1860—that is, less than a year after leaving California, according to the new manuscript—Crosby was back in New York, and soon traveling as far south as Charleston. In the context of the *Memoirs* alone, the reason or occasion for his eastern trip remained a matter of guess-work. But now the new finding makes it altogether likely that Crosby proceeded direct from Guatemala to New York City. A return to California, and a new land or water trip from there east, between the spring and the fall of 1860, seems quite out of the area of the probable, if not of the possible, for Crosby. The final biographic point is that the "Journal" clears up the obscure statement in the *Memoirs* that Crosby had known President Carrera of Guatemala, "on a former visit to the country."[24] This allusion was a puzzling thing until the present document turned up, but now it fits into the mosaic neatly.

In sum, the enlarged and revised Crosby of the several new findings is a more definite and a more connected figure in affairs than the author of the *Memoirs* has been. Mr. Miller makes Crosby the giver of a California place-name. If the naming was unpremeditated, it was nonetheless effective. Mayfield lasted about forty years, from the establishment of the post office in the 1850's to the founding of Stanford University and the rise of Palo Alto during the 1890's, as the one little commercial focus, stage station and then railroad station, of the immediate vicinity. Only a few years ago was the settlement absorbed in the development of South Palo Alto. To the present day the older little community retains a certain distinctness of its

own, and a local familiarity under Crosby's name of Mayfield.

The land-grant cases connect the man still more elaborately with the lower San Francisco peninsula, and they associate him also with remembered men, larger than himself, in early state affairs. Crosby now walks the full length of the California stage, from San Gabriel to Yolo County, and he appears with Captain Sutter and John Bidwell, and in the court of Judge Ogden Hoffman. This rôle of the 1850's represents no let-down from his rôle in 1849, described in the *Memoirs*, as he appeared with the constitution-makers at Monterey.

And the Huntington Library's new manuscript makes President Lincoln's designation of Crosby as United States minister to Guatemala seem more natural, and less a matter of happen-chance, than the *Memoirs* alone have indicated. His recent travels in Guatemala, considered together with his knowledge of the Spanish language and of California Spanish-Americans, probably had given Crosby as particular equipment for a diplomatic assignment in Central America as any citizen available for appointment possessed.

NOTES

1. Mr. Miller's source is Santa Clara County, Recorder's Office, Book of Deeds F, 386.

2. One or two guesses have been made about the reason for the name. Possibly Crosby thought of "Mayfield" as appropriate to the season of the year in which he took over. Again, he might naturally have named the place from some home association. Mr. Miller has followed this idea a bit, but finds no Mayfield nearer to Crosby's earlier life than one in Fulton County, New York, which is considerable distance from his old home in Tompkins County.

3. Santa Clara County, Recorder's Office, Book of Deeds J, 225.

4. Crosby does not mention the bankruptcy in the *Memoirs* (full citation for this volume on first page of present paper). Mr. A. A. Gray of Berkeley discovered the point, in the course of his investigation of members of the constitutional convention of 1849 (see *Memoirs*, p. xv, note 5). Now Mr. Miller finds the figures in the Sacramento *Union*, December 4, 1856.

5. The land grant cases are nos. 129 ND, 272 ND, 338 ND, 349 ND, 411 ND, 415 ND, 120 SD, 182 SD, 345 SD.

6. *Memoirs*, p. 73. Ogden Hoffman, *Reports on Land Cases Determined in the United States Court for the Northern District of California* (San Francisco, 1862), pp. 82, 83-84, 112-13, 138-39, 272-73, reports five additional cases in which Crosby appears as lawyer. The reports have no biographical value, except spread of activity.

7. The best introduction to this complex subject is in Robert G. Cleland's *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills* (San Marino, 1941). See also H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), VI, Ch. XX.

8. Land grant case 129 ND.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 45; Hoffman, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

10. Hoffman, *op. cit.*, App., p. 28, reporting on case 81 ND; and p. 33, reporting on case 129 ND.

11. Land grant case 81 ND, p. 53.

12. He is listed as attorney, with an office address, in the San Francisco *Directories*, editions for 1854, 1856, 1858.

13. Land grant case 182 SD.

14. Case 345 SD, pp. 68, 76, 230. Reported in Hoffman, *op. cit.*, App., p. 95.

15. Case 120 SD. Reported in Hoffman, *op. cit.*, App., p. 50.

16. Case 411 ND, p. 53; case 349 ND, p. 16.

17. *Memoirs*, pp. 57, 60. See also Crosby's participation in the directorship of the Pacific and Atlantic Rail Road Company (formed to connect San Jose and San Francisco as a first step in the larger design), first on September 6, 1851; and again on April 22, 1853. Oscar O. Winther, "The Story of San Jose, 1777-1869, California's First Pueblo," this QUARTERLY, XIV (June 1935), 163.

18. Land grant case 272 ND, pp. 9, 27, 36-132. Throughout the file of records in this case, the name of the original grantee appears as Juan De Swat.

19. Sutter and Crosby were associated also in at least one other case, on the same side and in like difficulties with the court. In 1855 Crosby acted as counsel when Sutter sued in behalf of the Moquelumne Indians for confirmation of another Micheltorena grant. In this case, too, Crosby had to apologize for loss of papers in his own office (case 415 ND, pp. 36 ff.).

20. Hoffman, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-38, reporting on case 272 ND.

21. *Memoirs*, pp. 67-68.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. xxiii-xxvi.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29; x, note 3.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

The Second Incumbency of Jacques A. Moerenhout

Translated, with Introduction[1] and Notes

By A. P. Nasatir

INTRODUCTION

JACQUES ANTOINE MOERENHOUT, diplomat, miniature portraitist, writer, soldier, merchant, and romantic traveler, was born in Echeren, province of Antwerp, in 1796. He was educated in France, and, after having served in the army of Napoleon, went to Chile in 1826 where he set himself up as a merchant. Moerenhout was shrewd in business and although he won and lost a great deal of money in speculative enterprises, his great interests lay in trade with the islands of the South Sea with which he became intimately acquainted—in fact, he wrote two rather large volumes about them, for which posterity would have been grateful had he done nothing else in his long life. On one of his many trips between Chile and the islands, he married a Chilean woman, with whom he settled down in Tahiti, establishing there the largest mercantile house in that area and trading with Europe, Australia, and South America. Handsome and romantic, Moerenhout made friends easily and became well acquainted with persons of importance, even befriending intimately the queen of Tahiti. He also developed connections with diplomats and acted for a time as consular agent of the Netherlands at Valparaiso.

Although born a Belgian, Moerenhout was at heart a Frenchman and labored long and hard throughout the remainder of his life for France. In furthering French interests in Oceania, he became involved in intrigues and rivalries which, in the end, resulted in the carving out of a French empire in the Pacific; but before the intrigues had run their course, Moerenhout's wife was hacked to death, and he himself nearly lost his own life by the same method.

Moerenhout acted as consul for the United States at Otahiti, and later, and over a longer period, as French consul, even assisting for a time in the government of the islands.

In 1845 he was appointed French consul of the second class with residence in Monterey, California, at an annual salary of 15,000 francs. He received his appointment in March 1846, and arrived in California in October of that year. From that time on, California was called his home.

Moerenhout was in California as consul for all practical purposes until 1850 when he handed over the consulate to J. Lombard. Thus his first term coincided with the period of the American conquest and the discovery of

gold. Although at times Moerenhout had been hampered by non-support from France, nevertheless he accomplished a great deal in protecting Frenchmen and French interests. His reports were made known in part through the French press; and as his full correspondence as well as that of his predecessor, Louis Gasquet, have been published, it is not necessary to recount his work here.[2] The long detailed report of his visit to the mines of California is itself a monument to his activity. After all, Moerenhout was the only accredited consular agent of a country not directly interested in California to be resident there. His reports are consequently most circumstantial and constitute the nearest approach to an unbiased account by an impartial official observer.

After relinquishing his consulate to Lombard in 1850, Moerenhout tells us that he remained in California, spending most of his time until April 15, 1851, in San Francisco.[3] A good deal of that time he spent "with Mr. De Boom," visiting also at the rancho of José Cornelio Bernal on the old San Jose road south of San Francisco.

Once again in France, he renewed relations with his acquaintances and friends with whom he had kept up a large correspondence. Included among them were not only officials of the government, but members of literary circles and societies interested in the history, exploration, customs, natives, vegetation, etc., of the South Sea Islands. Although as early as 1848 he had inklings of being superseded as consul, or that his consulate was to be suppressed, many persons did not know of his release from office. Writing from Callao on May 14, 1850, Moerenhout's old friend, Naval Capt. L. Fourichon, addressed him as if he were still consul at Monterey.[4] He probably visited his old birthplace while in France, but most of the time he spent in Paris. On July 28, 1851, his brother, P. Y. Moerenhout, signed a statement at Antwerp saying that he had received 1227 francs from Moerenhout, which was to be given to his sister in monthly allotments.[5]

With the knowledge of Moerenhout's restless nature, it is not difficult to guess that he was anxious to go back to California. He had property and other interests there,[6] aside from his desire to return as representative of France. Indeed, during his absence his beautiful home in Monterey was sold at a great financial loss to him. These were days of chaos in France, but seemingly Moerenhout made his way into favor among the officials and friends of Louis Napoleon. He had applied for, and obtained, an état du service from the ministry of war dated Paris, October 17, 1851, which was delivered to him gratis at his residence at Rue Cassell, No. 27, à Passy (Seine) in response to his letter of request of October first.[7] Furthermore, he took out a carte de domicile (no. 7244x5),[8] granting him the right to establish his home in France and enjoy civil rights.

In a letter to his friend and correspondent, M. Lesson, dated Passy, January 25, 1852, Moerenhout says that he had been positively promised

his former consulate "while waiting for better, and that suits me especially since my business in California promises something colossal." He informed Lesson that an English company wanted land from him for a site for a city for which they offered him three million francs, and he had views of taking a sixth part of the project with the idea of developing the city and a port. But in order to do that it was necessary for him to procure the titles; and to get the latter, he had to go to California. Moerenhout was also annoyed with writers and others who were calling him a foreigner, whereas "for the past fifteen years of my life I have served France . . . I have always been French, and a good Frenchman." It appears that Lesson was asking him for materials for his writings.[9]

At last on March 11, 1852, Louis Napoleon signed his appointment as vice-consular agent at Monterey with the title of honorary consul of the second class replacing J. Lombard.[10] This appointment was forwarded to Moerenhout at his residence at Rue Belle Charles, No. 60, by Louis-Felix-Etienne, Marquis de Turgot, accompanying his letter of March 22. Moerenhout was assigned a salary of 6000 francs and the receipts of the chancellory but was subordinated to the consulate at San Francisco. Turgot urged Moerenhout to prepare to leave.[11] On April 15, le Cte. de Lesseps of the foreign office sent Moerenhout a duplicate of his appointment. It bears endorsement dates of April 15 and August 14 and is "received October 1 and October 30, 1852."[12]

After having written to the minister on April 5, 1852, of his intention to marry Mlle. de Cartault, residing at No. 15 Rue Truffault aux Batignolles, which he did not carry out, Moerenhout embarked at Southampton on April 17 for Colon and returned to San Francisco. He arrived at Monterey in July and soon thereafter took over the consulate from Lombard. From Panama on November 20, 1852, Lombard addressed a letter to Moerenhout, in reply to the latter's letter of October 15, in which Lombard stated that he went to see "Mr. Cowan," the British agent at Navy-Bay, and that he had handed him a written note and the details concerning a box which Moerenhout had left at Chagres.[13]

Moerenhout's second incumbency as a consul of France in California stands in contrast to his first incumbency. Since his first residence in California, great changes had taken place because of the gold rush. San Francisco was now the metropolis and the French consulate there was very busy. Monterey, compared to what it was under its previous long tenure as the most important city and capital of California, was becoming more and more of a ghost town. There was not much business to attend to. Although there are in the French foreign office several boxes containing the reports of the consulate at San Francisco, the official correspondence is not open to the public, and therefore no complete account of his activities while in office can be given from that source. However, several of Moerenhout's

official letters were found by the writer in the "Correspondance Politique" series in that archive and are here given in English translation. Added to those few but very enlightening reports are several other letters and documents which have been kindly loaned to me by Dr. E. M. Clinton, great-grandson of Moerenhout. As a large number are published below, it is unnecessary to give a detailed account of them here[14]; a few words will suffice.

This time there was nothing for Moerenhout to do but to report conditions and events in California and this he proceeded to do with his characteristic insight and excellent style. His careful and unprejudiced analyses of the conditions that produced the Vigilance Committee of 1856 and the Know-Nothing Party are particularly keen interpretations of the times. His accounts of the activities of the filibusters in Lower California and indication of the famous "L'Affaire Dillon" only make one irritated that the complete correspondence has not been made available to us, due to the restrictions placed upon their use by the French foreign office.

The continual decline in the importance of Monterey made Moerenhout feel that his employment was not secure. He attempted to get the appointment of consul at San Francisco in 1854, just at the time possibly of Patrice Dillon's difficulties with the United States authorities; but despite the support of Mme. Bruat, widow of the admiral and now gouvernante des enfants de France, he failed to gain satisfaction. I might venture the guess that Moerenhout's widespread interests probably made him desire to be permanently located in San Francisco. His daughter lived there and she was not in the best of health. Moerenhout must have made frequent trips to San Francisco.

However, in 1859 the French foreign office finally recognized how relatively unimportant Monterey had become, and transferred Moerenhout's vice-consulate to Los Angeles, where he was ceremoniously inaugurated on October 29.[15] He entered enthusiastically into the life of that growing town, and became widely known throughout southern California, where his character and dignity commanded great respect. He was instrumental in the development of the French Benevolent Society in Los Angeles in 1860 (he served as its first president) and in the French Hospital. He sent Los Angeles cotton to the Paris exhibition, and at his residence he presided in 1876 over an enthusiastic celebration of the centenary of American independence.

Late in the 'seventies the economic pinch then being suffered by the Third French Republic led to the suppression of the vice-consulate at Los Angeles. This hurt the elderly gentleman and he did not long survive the bad news. Moerenhout wrote to his banker in Paris: "This announcement strikes me at a very fatal moment," his property being then unsalable. He asked for consideration of his old age and forty years of service, and at

least to be allowed enough to make it possible for him to continue to live in California, where the climate was favorable to his asthma, "for the short time that is still left to me to live." The suppression dated from January 30, 1879, but a special salary was allowed him—8,000 francs (his full salary)—to May 1, 1879, and 3,500 francs thereafter.[16] On July 11, however, he died at his home on Main Street, near Third.[17] The French foreign office in part indemnified Moerenhout's daughter for his funeral expenses, to the extent of 500 francs.

Thus came to an end the long and honorable career of Jacques Antoine Moerenhout in his eighty-third year. He had retained his faculties till the end and had even taken part in the Fourth of July celebration just one week before his death.

Through the vicissitudes of three-quarters of a century he had served his country well, as soldier in Napoleon's Grand Armée; and as explorer, geographer and diplomat in the South Seas, where he had played an important part in the acquisition of the Society Islands. It was with the thought that the French empire might obtain another foothold in the Pacific that he was appointed to the post at Monterey in 1845. If fate had favored France in the project, there can be little doubt that Moerenhout would have been equal to the task in California as he had been in Tahiti. History assigned to him a smaller role here, but what he had to do he did well. He was no ordinary man, and his letters from California take on greater historical value and more interest when it is realized that they came from the same hand that wrote the monumental *Voyages aux Iles du Grand Océan*,[18] that painted delicate miniatures on ivory—and that once caressed a queen.

As published here, the letters and reports relating to Moerenhout's second incumbency begin with Document X, the first in the series to be written from California.

X[19]

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER[20]

[Extract]

Monterey,
15-9bre, [November] 1853

. . . . .

About twenty days ago, ten or twelve people of various nations presented themselves at Monterey, asking to work by day [*à la journée*] while awaiting a schooner upon which they were to embark for Acapulco, according to what they said. Among them were three Frenchmen who towards the end of the month of October made the same statement. They all disappeared without anyone being able to learn positively what had become of them. Only a rumor was current that a sail boat was seen which had landed between Santa Cruz and Monterey; that they [had] embarked there; and that they formed a part of the expedition destined to invade Sonora,[21]

which for some time past had been preparing in this country. General Castro,[22] Californian, the same person who commanded the Mexican troops in this country in 1846, and who is at this time in Monterey, has since told me in confidence that two Americans, of whom one was said to have been a general and the other a colonel, came to see him at the beginning of last September for the purpose of proposing to him to put himself at the head of an expedition of two thousand men who were to invade Sonora; one thousand of whom were to leave from California, and one thousand from Texas and New Mexico. A part of this group was to embark to go by sea directly to Guaymas, and the others—from San Diego, California, and from New Mexico—were to go by land to a place located between the mouth of the Colorado River and Guaymas, where all were to meet. They wanted to use the name of General Castro in order to make an appeal to the inhabitants of Sonora. In addition to immediate aid in money, they promised him large possessions of land and other riches in the aforementioned Sonora. According to what they claimed, they were first going to divide the land of Sonora and then declare it an independent province and maintain it as such. Until the United States would be able to admit or annex it, General Castro refused. But before making these propositions to him, they made him promise to keep the secret and I believe that I am the only one to whom he has confided this fact and told the details of his interview.

That this is in part the plan of those who wish to invade this Mexican province, cannot be doubted. But they found great obstacles in the execution [of their plans]. Their expedition from this country is far from being as formidable as they had announced. Instead of one thousand men who were to leave from California, I do not believe that they were able to assemble more than two hundred.[23] But it seemed that one of the resources upon which they counted a great deal is [was] that of uniting with the Apache Indians or to furnish them with arms and munitions in order to fight the Mexicans.

Is it not also probable, today, that the American Government ought to be [is] convinced that the only railroad, that it is possible to construct in order to establish communications between the two oceans in this part of the Americas, must pass through Mexican territory to the south of the Gila River, in order to terminate at Guaymas on the Gulf of Cortes[24]; for it is only in following this route that one avoids equally the impracticable [unpassable] passes of the high mountains and the sand of the deserts which separate Upper California from New Mexico, Texas, and from all the Eastern states; is it not probable, I say, Monsieur le Ministre, that the government of the United States, convinced of this fact, is seeking to obtain possession of all these important *parages* and that it [the government] protects today the enterprises of the adventurers mentioned above in the same manner and for the same reasons, that at the end of 1845 and at the

beginning of 1846, it protected the horde that penetrated by force of arms into Upper California and proclaimed an independent *Pavillon*, and which, commanded by officers of the United States Army, MM. Frémont and Gilipsie [Gillespie], were moreover openly assisted and protected by a *corvette de guerre* at anchor in the Bay of San Francisco. In the same fashion Sonora and Guaymas, of which I have had the honor of informing Your Excellency in my despatch of the fifteenth of April, number eight, appeared to me doomed to great happenings. It [Guaymas] is the only port which, by its location and its capacity, presents itself as a worthy rival of San Francisco, and which it will perhaps surpass if the termination of the projected railroad across the continent is there made.

I have the honor; etc.,

[SIGNED] Moerenhout

Addressed:
Monsieur le Ministre de Affaires Étrangères à Paris

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. For a fuller account, upon which this introduction to his second incumbency is based, see the sketch of Moerenhout preceding my translation of his consular correspondence which appeared first in this QUARTERLY, XII (June 1933), 155-59. Sources are not all cited there, however. For a more complete compilation, see A. P. Nasatir, *French Activities in California: an Archival Calendar-Guide* (Stanford University, 1945), pp. 28-35; 54-56. The only published biography of Moerenhout is by Léonce Jore, *Un Belge au Service de la France dans l'Océan Pacifique*, published in Paris in 1942. (This is a small volume which was printed to accompany a reprint of Moerenhout's *Voyages aux Iles du Grand Océan.)* Moerenhout's writings and a record of his presentation of papers before professional institutes would make quite a long list. Some have been indicated in the notes to my sketch mentioned above. I have collected a number of documents from the French archives relating to Moerenhout's activities in the South Seas and have a nearly complete bibliography. His diary of his tour of the mines has been published as a special publication of this Society: *Inside Story of the Gold Rush*, edited and translated by A. P. Nasatir (San Francisco, 1935).

2. See Note 14, below.

3. Moerenhout's testimony in private land-grant case 285 ND, p. 452. Kimball's 1850 *Directory* lists DeBoom, Vigneaux & Grisar, commission merchants—possibly R. DeBoom of Colville's 1856 *Directory*.

4. Fourichon to Moerenhout, Callao, May 14, 1850. Clinton Collection.

5. Clinton Collection.

6. That Moerenhout had property in California was shown by his deposition in certain of the land-grant cases. He was widely known during both his first and second incumbencies, and after his release from office acted as agent for owners of land, particularly for Mrs. Carmen Cibrian de Bernal. On pp. 451 ff of the records for case 285 ND, referred to above, his testimony indicates that he "...was her agent from the last of 1849 or beginning of '50—to the 15th April 1851 and again I was her agent from 1852 or 1853—to the time the Rancho was sold to [Harvey S.] Brown—I think about 1857." His appearances before the land commission are recorded in the files of the following

cases: 165 ND, p. 8; 285 ND, pp. 439-66; 349 ND, pp. 73 ff; 179 SD, p. 26; 330 SD, p. 5.

7. Clinton Collection.

8. Dated Palais de Tuileries, Jan. 19, 1852. Clinton Collection.

9. Clinton Collection.

10. Original in possession of Mrs. J. A. Rickman.

11. Clinton Collection. 12. *Ibid.* 13. *Ibid.*

14. This collection was assembled, translated, and edited by A. P. Nasatir as the final installment of his account of the French consulate in California. The first part dealing with Gasquet was published in this QUARTERLY, XI (1932), 195-223; 339-57; XII (1933), 35-64. The second, dealing with the first incumbency of Moerenhout, appeared in Vol. 12 (June 1933), as given in Note 1, above, with the addition of pp. 160-72; 331-57 (Dec.); XIII (1934), 56-79, 159-75, 262-80, 355-85. The third, the Lombard papers, have been prepared and are planned for publication in this QUARTERLY; they are calendared very briefly, as are the other documents, in A. P. Nasatir, *French Activities* ... mentioned also in Note 1.

15. Original of appointment is in the Clinton Collection. See Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California 1853-1913* (Boston, 1930), p. 254; *Echo du Pacifique*, Nov. 9, 1859, quoted in full in Jore, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-61. His appointment was made in the name of the emperor by the consul at San Francisco, Abel Frédéric Gautier.

16. The above is based on documents printed hereinafter.

17. This has been taken in large part from the French-language hebdomadaire periodical, *L'Union*, July 19, 1879. A full account of the funeral is given in Jore, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-68. See also the Sacramento *Record-Union*, July 12, 1879, quoted in volume 12, p. 159, of this QUARTERLY.

18. Paris, 1837 and reprinted Paris, 1942. See also Moerenhout's "Notice sur Plusiers Voyages," in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géographie* (Jan. 1835), 22-35. This journal contains many references to Moerenhout, his letters, extracts from his book and publications, viz.: III, 70-71, 73, 142, 226-27, 292; IV, 252-88; V, 444-45; VII, 399; VIII, 121-25; XII, 315. See also Jore, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-79; also his *Essai de Bibliographie du Pacifique* (Paris, 1931), pp. 42-43. Moerenhout was a member of the Société de Géographie, Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, Société Orientale, Institut d'Afrique, etc.

19. Correspondance Politique: Sér. Mexique, Vol. 41, folios 336-39.

20. Agence Consulaire de France à Monterey. EXTRAIT.

21. Most likely this refers to Walker's activity. William Walker sailed on the *Caroline* on Oct. 15 or 16, 1853. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), VI, 594-95; Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1898), III, 671 ff; W. O. Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers* (New York, 1916), pp. 31 ff; R. K. Wyllys, "William Walker's Invasion of Sonora, 1854," in *Arizona Hist. Rev.*, VI (Oct. 1935), 61-67; and by the same author, "Republic of Lower California, 1853-1854," in *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, II (June 1933), 194-213; and also his "The French in Sonora, 1850-54," *Univ. Calif. Publ. in Hist.*, XXI (1932), consult index; J. M. Clarke, "Antonio Meléndrez—Nemesis of William Walker in Baja California," this QUARTERLY, XII (Dec. 1933), 318-22.

22. José Castro. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 751-52. Castro went to Mexico in 1853 and was later made sub-jefe político and military commander of the Lower California frontier.

23. On board the *Caroline* with Walker when he left were about 46 men.

24. The Gadsden purchase was consummated in 1854.

Rev. Dr. W. A. Scott, A Southern Sympathizer

By John B. Astles

THE REV. WILLIAM ANDERSON SCOTT, D.D., a Southerner, born in Tennessee, and for a time pastor of a Presbyterian church in New Orleans, came to San Francisco in 1854 when he accepted a call to the Calvary Presbyterian Church. He was recognized by many of his contemporaries as one of the most capable speakers in the nation; his congregation held him in high esteem, but his continued defense of the South's position forced his members to accept his resignation.

Dr. Scott's fellow ministers did not share his views, and their differences of opinion had reached a climax at the regular semi-annual meeting of the Presbytery of California held in St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, San Francisco, September 11, 1861. At this meeting the Rev. A. W. Loomis, a missionary to the Chinese in California, presented a paper to the Presbytery on the state of the country. This paper, containing four resolutions, was a presentation of Union views. The resolutions were as follows:

Resolved, 1st, That, in the opinion of this Presbytery, it is the duty of ministers, at all proper times, to enjoin upon their hearers their duties as citizens, explaining the difference between the "powers which are ordained of God" and usurpers, also the difference between a needful revolution and a rebellion; and, in the very language of the Scriptures, "putting them in mind to be subject of principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, and to be ready to do every good work," and reminding them that "whomsoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God."

Resolved, 2nd, That we recommend to all our ministers, elders and members, carefully to study Chapter 23 of our Confession of Faith, with the proof texts.

Resolved, 3rd, That, especially in a time like the present, when a long premeditated and thoroughly organized rebellion is raging in many of the States of the Union, which threatens entirely to overthrow our Government and to destroy our liberties and prosperity, it is the duty of ministers of the gospel to warn the people of the awful crime of rebellion, and earnestly to exhort them to stand by their Government, and to pledge to it their full support.

Resolved, 4th, That as we also believe God has suffered these our present calamities to come upon us because of our unfaithfulness as individuals and as a Church, and because of our manifold sins and iniquities as a nation, therefore should we make humble and hearty confession, while in earnest supplication we look to God for relief, believing that in Him only is our hope: and this will we continue to do till in great mercy He shall return and deliver us. And we enjoin upon all our churches, and exhort all the people solemnly to observe the day of fasting and prayer appointed by the President of these United States, viz., the last Thursday of September, and to keep the day in the manner and for the especial purposes which are set forth in his proclamation.[1]

Unfortunately, there was only one reporter present at the meeting, a man representing *The Pacific*, a weekly religious newspaper. The reporter stated that when Rev. W. A. Loomis had presented the foregoing resolutions,

Dr. Scott rose and remarked that the paper lacked only one thing—a preamble resolving the Presbytery into a political organization, inferring that the resolutions were out of place in a meeting of an ecclesiastical organization.[2] Scott condemned the paper as a piece of political meddling, and suggested that the resolutions had been purposely drawn up in secret in order that they might be presented without his foreknowledge. He denied that the Presbytery had any right to call the war a rebellion, arguing that it was necessary to wait and see if it was successful before labeling it a rebellion. He further stated that Jefferson Davis was no more a traitor than George Washington and that Davis was as much president as was Lincoln. Judge R. H. Waller, an elder of Calvary Presbyterian Church, in replying to Scott, said that according to Scott's own reasoning the war, at the present moment at least, was rebellion and that the only thing that could save it from being a rebellion was success; that success had not come—so it was rebellion. A vote was then taken on the adoption of the proposed resolutions and they were passed with Scott casting the only negative vote.

There were those who felt that the account was not a fair one and who claimed that Dr. Scott had been misquoted. *The Pacific*, in answer to criticism it had received, printed letters from several ministers present at the meeting.[3] The writers agreed that the report was fair and accurate, and testified that Dr. Scott had made the reported remarks.

Rumors were running wild in the city at this time to the effect that Scott had been arrested by Federal authorities and had given bail. The amount of the bail and the names of the bondsmen were whispered about. These same rumors said that if Dr. Scott attempted to preach the following Sunday, September 22, 1861, the people would hiss him down, and that there would be a meeting in front of Calvary Church on Sunday at which he would be publicly denounced as a traitor to the Union.[4]

The newly elected moderator of the Presbytery, the Rev. S. T. Wells, sent to one of the city's newspapers a letter for publication that he had received from Dr. Scott. Reverend Wells felt it should be published, in order that the public might know what Scott had to say in defense of himself. A portion of the letter is as follows:

...The only question I desired to discuss *was the right of the Presbytery, under the Constitution of the Church, and as an ecclesiastical body, to meddle with political affairs. I insisted that Jesus Christ had not given any such power to His Church.* I did not say whether Mr. Davis was a usurper or not; nor did I say that he was as much a President as Abraham Lincoln. Nor did I say that the revolution in the Confederate States was a rightful one. I neither said nor intended to say such things. I did say, that the Presbytery had no authority from the Head of the Church, nor from its standards to decide any such questions. I said expressly, and at two different times, in the course of my remarks, that I would not discuss the merits of the political issues involved in the subject matter of these resolutions. That on these points I had nothing to say. My only object was to show that Presbytery should not entertain these resolutions at all.

You will remember, perhaps, that this is not a new position. I have uniformly maintained in all my writings that the Church should have nothing to do with politics.

Thus I have endeavored to give you the train of my remarks, and as fully as I can.

W. A. Scott[5]

Public sentiment against Scott was increasing and many felt that he was guilty of introducing politics in his pulpit, for "in his prayers, he insisted on praying 'for all presidents and rulers and all officers of the Army and Navy'."[6] Rumors, which had continued to circulate, had caused considerable curiosity among a number of the citizens. Shortly after midnight, on Sunday morning, September 22, a crowd began to assemble near Calvary Church, which stood on Bush Street between Montgomery and Sansome.[7] Evidently nothing was afoot, the people having gathered simply to see if anything *would* happen. However, by daybreak it could be seen that someone had actually been at work, for at the top of the church a Union flag was flying; in addition Union flags were fastened to both the east and west lamp posts in front of the edifice. And on the northeast corner of Donahue's building, obliquely opposite the church, was an effigy dangling by the neck from an upper window. It was labeled: "Dr. Scott, the reverend traitor." At 6:30 a.m. two policemen arrived, immediately cut the effigy down and carried it away. The crowd remained mute. Although no violence had taken place, their numbers steadily increased and by 8 a.m. there was an estimated 2,000.[8]

Shortly after the effigy had been removed, a Mrs. Nelson, further identity unknown, made her way to one of the lamp posts and tried to dislodge one of the flags, expressing to the crowd her pro-Scott sentiments. The crowd prevented her from removing the flag, although she did succeed in lowering it a trifle from its former position. After this incident, James P. Noyes (listed in the 1861 *Directory* as a "mariner"), arrived on the scene, and, seeing that the flag had been moved, attempted to put it back in its original position. Thereupon the crowd, thinking he, too, was pro-Scott and was trying to remove the flag, surged upon him and treated him roughly before he succeeded in breaking away. He jumped up on the church steps and shouted to the mob that it had misunderstood his actions, that he was the person who had bought the flags (paid $25 for them) and was one of those responsible for having them placed about the church. He laughingly added that the maltreatment he had received at their hands was well worth the cause.

As the hour for the church service approached, the Sunday School children along with their teachers began to arrive. They were allowed to pass through the crowd and into the church without harm. Shortly thereafter Chief of Police M. J. Burke and a squad of men came up and stationed themselves in the basement of the church to await any serious developments. About 10:30 a.m. the front doors of the church were opened and a large

crowd rushed in. Almost immediately all seats were taken.[9] Among those present "were 500 Union men, sent there by the Union Secret Club to assist the police . . . in keeping order."[10]

Dr. Scott rode from his home to the church in a public carriage. As he walked down Bush Street to the church, it was seen that he was accompanied by two policemen. From the portion of the crowd remaining outside the church there came audible whispers. There was much moving about and straining for better views, but no violence occurred and Dr. Scott entered the church by a side door.

Scott was extremely cautious in the remarks he made from the pulpit during the service, and he read his sermon and prayer from a prepared manuscript. His prayer was silently and closely listened to. It invoked a blessing on the head of the government, on all in authority, on publishers and printers, and on all who were in a position to influence men. He discreetly omitted anything concerning the question of secession and "made no allusion to magistrates."[11] His sermon, entitled "Christian ministers, Christ's ambassadors," based on II Corinthians 5:20, was equally acceptable, so far as the critics present were concerned. Many persons left, feeling that no further excitement would occur, but others from the crowd outside took their places.

At the completion of the service the congregation departed quietly. Scott lingered inside the church talking with friends. Then he proceeded as usual down the west steps. He was stopped by a Mrs. Selby,[12] who offered him a ride to his home in her carriage. Scott accepted the offer, and they started toward her carriage with several policemen grouped about them as they made their way. As soon as they reached the sidewalk, the crowd surged towards Scott and Mrs. Selby, but they managed to get safely inside the carriage. Those nearest the horses' heads grasped the bridles and there were faint cries of "Hang him! String him up!" There were also some hisses. Two policemen jumped into the driver's seat, where they were joined by Chief of Police Burke, who, satisfied that Scott and his companion were so far unharmed, shouted to his men to "Put on the whip." A large fellow in a red shirt still held the horses, but seeing that Burke and his fellow officers were about to draw their guns, he jumped aside and the carriage drove away amid the cries of the crowd. Scott was taken at once to his home where he stayed the remainder of the day.

No sooner had the carriage rolled away then a man mounted the church steps and cried out, "Three cheers for the Union—down with traitors and seceders." Cheers rang out.

William Scott, son of Dr. Scott and about seventeen years of age, was among the congregation present at the service. As he was making his way through the crowd he was recognized by a man who shouted, "Here's the son of a ——, hang him." Young Scott immediately defended himself and

gave the man a blow that sent him sprawling to the pavement. This display of violence caused the mob to press toward William. James S. Bovee, a police officer, seeing that William was in danger, grasped his arm and advised that he allow himself to be taken to the station-house for his own safety. A young friend of William, Samuel P. Middleton, son of John Middleton, a trustee of the church, not realizing that Bovee was an officer and thinking he was one of the mob, hit him. Consequently, both Scott and Middleton were taken into custody. Before leaving the scene of the mob, the officer asked William if he had a gun. He admitted that he did and handed it over.

Shortly after this incident, the mob broke up and the streets were cleared. Although an evening service was scheduled at Calvary Church, the trustees, acting in accordance with the wishes of the city authorities, canceled the meeting and kept the doors locked. A small group of curious persons gathered around the church that evening, but there was no demonstration.

The following day, Monday, September 23, young William Scott's case was called in the police court and was heard by Police Judge Samuel Cowles. Scott was asked to explain why he was armed on Sunday. He replied that on his way to church Sunday morning a woman called to him as he was passing and asked if he had a gun. When he answered in the negative, this lady, who did not herself attend Calvary Church, handed him a gun, asking him to promise not to use it except in an emergency in defense of his father. William promised, and accepted the gun. When Judge Cowles heard the explanation, he commended young Scott and stated that his actions under the circumstances were justifiable. The case was dismissed.

On the same day Dr. Scott sent in his resignation, sold his house on Rincon Hill, and made plans to sail for Europe. It was rumored that he had received several threatening letters and that organized bodies of men had sworn to kill him if he remained in the city.

At a regular meeting of the trustees of Calvary Church held on the evening of September 25, it was voted that the salary of Dr. Scott be continued and paid up to the first of next January, a sum amounting to approximately $3,000 for the balance of the year. Four trustees subscribed $250 each, making a purse of $1,000 to be presented to Scott before he retired from the city. The hope was expressed of securing additional money so that a purse of $5,000 (including his salary) could be given him.[13]

A meeting of the congregation was held on the evening of September 30, an estimated 300 attending.[14] Colonel McKee called the meeting to order, Rev. Dr. George Burrowes acted as moderator, and Mr. R. R. Provines as secretary. Dr. Burrowes opened the meeting with prayer, and the secretary read Dr. Scott's letter of resignation. A resolution was then offered by James B. Roberts, who stated that he did so with great pain and reluctance; but owing to outside influence it was impossible for Dr. Scott to remain in

the city with any peace to himself or his family. Roberts therefore hoped that his proposed resolution would be adopted in order that Dr. Scott might retire to some quiet place:

Resolved, That this congregation hereby accept the resignation of the Rev. Dr. Scott, and unite with him in asking the Presbytery to allow him to return to them the call which was placed in his hands to be our Pastor, and we hereby request the Presbytery to declare this pulpit vacant, and that we might be at liberty to call another Pastor without delay.[15]

Although fifteen negative votes were cast, the resolution was adopted. Several of the members did not want to accept Scott's resignation, but desired to give him twelve months' salary and let him go abroad and then return as their pastor.

On the morning of October 1, Dr. Scott and his family boarded the *SS. Uncle Sam* which was sailing for England. Scores of people were on hand to see him off. He was presented with a purse amounting to an estimated $8,000. One lady brought him a gift of £100. Especially thoughtful were the members of his congregation who fitted out each of his six children with a four-year supply of clothing. Making the trip with Dr. Scott and his family were almost twenty other persons, including Mrs. Selby, Mrs. Reese [Mrs. Selby's mother], and her five children.[16]

A meeting of the Synod of the Pacific was held in Napa, California, on Tuesday night, October 1, 1861. This body passed "loyal resolutions" similar to those passed by the Presbytery of California. In addition, resolutions were passed deploring the violence in San Francisco which resulted in driving away from the church a pastor sound in the faith, a friend of all the benevolent boards of the Presbyterian Church, a strong friend of the Church of Christ, and an able and faithful minister of the Gospel. This body declared the pulpit of Calvary Presbyterian Church to be vacant and appointed the Rev. Dr. Phelps of Sacramento to preach there the following Sunday.[17]

In order that the Synod might go on record as not being in sympathy with Scott's views, the following resolution was proposed and adopted:

Resolved, That the Synod has no possible sympathy with the treasonable opinions thought by some to have been entertained by Dr. Scott, and that we detest treason against the United States Government, coming under whatever guise it may, or by whomsoever uttered, as a heinous sin against God, and a detestable crime against the nation.[18]

Dr. Phelps, complying with the appointment of the Synod, filled the pulpit of Calvary Church on the following Sunday morning, October sixth. At the close of the sermon he declared the pulpit vacant, and then Dr. Burrowes read Dr. Scott's farewell letter. In part it read:

To Calvary Presbyterian Church and Congregation: Dearly beloved in the Lord—By circumstances you all comprehend more easily than I can describe, I am obliged to withdraw from your pulpit and from your city—from the very church which your

liberality and zeal for the worship of the God of your fathers erected for me to labor in. The long continued opposition to my ministry on the coast culminating in the demonstrations of the past few months and of the last Lord's day, seemed to me to be a call from the Head of the Church to depart, and I am happy to say, that I can do so without an unkind feeling to anyone....

On two different occasions I have seriously contemplated a removal and sent in my resignation ... the circumstances were such that I was ready to conclude that some one else might be more acceptable in the pulpit to a majority of the congregation. I was also very weary of the ceaseless opposition, and grieved that you were proscribed and annoyed by a groundless pressure from without....

But a vast majority of you seemed to think otherwise, and desired me to remain. I have done so, until now I can no longer occupy your pulpit and preach to you the Gospel in peace.[19]

Letters from Dr. Scott received by *The Pacific Expositor* reveal that he arrived safely in Southampton, England, and on the nineteenth of November left for Paris.[20]

After leaving California, Scott received many letters from friends and admirers, all expressing confidence, esteem, and affection. Among them was the following, written by John G. Downey, governor of California:

Rev. and Dear Sir,

I have learned with sincere regret that you purpose leaving this State for Europe, with a view of there making a temporary sojourn.

I beg you will carry with you the assurances of my high appreciation of your merits, both as a citizen and distinguished minister of the Gospel, during your long residence in California.

Your liberal and Christian spirit, as manifested by your teachings from the pulpit and your courteous conduct towards other denominations differing from yourself, have won my most cordial admiration. I trust, Sir, that your visit may be fraught with all the happiness and pleasure to yourself and family that your heart can desire, and I indulge the hope that you will again return among us, to ornament the pulpit with your distinguished abilities and Christian virtues, and that you will then find our beloved country restored to peace and brotherly love.

With sincere esteem and respect, I am, Reverend and dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

John G. Downey[21]

Such is the story of the part played by Dr. Scott in California during the Civil War. Looking back across the span of years since his day, we see him as a man of profound convictions, unafraid to take a stand for what he believed to be right.

NOTES

1. *The Pacific,* Sept. 19, 1861.
2. *Idem.* See also W. A. Scott, *My Residence In and Departure From California* (Paris, France, Dec. 6, 1861), pp. 11-15.
3. *The Pacific, idem.*
4. San Francisco *Evening Bulletin,* Sept. 21, 1861.
5. Scott, *op. cit.,* pp. 11-14; also *Evening Bulletin, idem.*

6. G. H. Tinkham, *California Men and Events; Time 1769-1890* (Stockton, 1915), p. 196.

7. *Evening Bulletin,* Sept. 23, 1861.

8. Tinkham, *op. cit.,* p. 197.

9. One thousand persons could be seated in the auditorium of Calvary Church, according to the San Francisco *Directory* for 1861, p. 436. Included among the trustees were Henry H. Haight, H. M. Newhall, and Hubert Howe Bancroft.

10. Tinkham, *loc. cit.*

11. *Idem.* See also Scott, *op. cit.,* p. 6.

12. Probably the wife of Thomas H. Selby of the importing and metals firm of Thomas H. Selby & Co. (Peter Naylor), on California Street—the only Selby listed in the 1861 *Directory.*

13. *Evening Bulletin,* Sept. 26, 1861.

14. *Ibid.,* Oct. 1, 1861.

15. *Idem;* see also Scott, *op. cit.,* p. 18.

16. *Evening Bulletin, idem.*

17. *Ibid.,* Oct. 4, 1861.

18. *Minutes of the Synod of the Pacific,* Oct. 1, 1861.

19. Scott, *op. cit.,* p. 21.

20. *The Pacific Expositor,* Feb. 1862.

21. *Evening Bulletin,* Oct. 7, 1861; and Scott, *op. cit.,* p. 28.

Bound for the Land of Canaan, Ho!

The Diary of Levi Stowell, 1849

With Introduction and Notes
By Marco G. Thorne

(Continued)

A SHORT TRIP TO THE MINES

Levi Stowell and some of his friends had come to San Francisco on the first voyage of the *SS. California,* meeting the ship at Panama in January 1849. After their arrival in San Francisco, some of the group worked as carpenters, but toward the end of March a few decided to go to the gold diggings. They bought supplies and made arrangements for transportation to Stockton. The story continues in Stowell's own words.

Tuesday, March 27. Boat here & all are to be off to day [.] got to pack for all hands hurry & Bustle. all on board the Susan Ann[66] at 5½ O'Clock. loaded down, no place to sit or sleep. Voorhies,[67] Whepley, Waters, Eli, Locke & myself, party

Wednesday, March 28. Sailed about 10 miles near Saucilito becalmed, had to sleep on deck on the Boxes, chains, &c very cold two blankets each. breeze this morn 10. OClock off again. Most lovely country enchanting scenery, Rolling hills &c. passed Benicia 5. O'clock

Thursday, March 29. warm & pleasant Slept on deck all hands 3 deep. Passed some of the most lovely rolling land yesterday in the world. low marshy land all the way up the San Joaquin & wide flats, deep water. Mountains covered with snow. Mt. Diavalo, land mark for U[pper]. C[alifornia].

Friday, March 30. pleasant Slept well, come to anchor 10 miles below Stockton. Calm, saw a Bear on shore. laid till noon. no wind, then towed the boat Voorhies good on the tow line. very wide flats & perfectly level. arrived at Stockton 5. O.clock a few tents & huts a beautiful place.

Saturday, March 31. very pleasant Slept in a hut, fine Tea & crackers for breakfast Bargained for 2. horses $200. Each take either by the tail & throw them over an 8. rail fence: great time packing left many things. Every man loaded picks shovels, Crow Bars pans, Guns, &c &c & off at 2. 7. miles & camped, fine. large fire & cooked supper & laid down the Blankets:

Sunday, April 1. Slept fine. unused to camp. some got heads to the fire. Baked their craniums fried Pork & crackers & coffee & off at ½ past 7. a chosen band for a mountain land. a beautiful level plain of vast extent, shade trees, Oak. Plenty of water & feed at this time. travelled 25. miles & all nearly tired down [.] camped in a wigwam on the Bank of the Calebaras.

Monday, April 2. all slept well & felt much better [.] bathed our feet

well. got breakfast had ducks & birds. Quails for supper fat living, & got off at 9. just off the plain country rolling hills & vales, the most lovely imaginable flowers of great variety & fragrance, the flower garden of the world. 18. miles & camped at the entrance of the mountain gorge, near the double springs.

Tuesday, April 3. fine weather. Had a good Camp. Voorhies & Waters kicked up & cinders, dramatizing &c all sorts of noises. slept well but cold. off at 8, fairly in the Seirra Nervada & a beautiful country still water plenty [.] 20. miles & camped. ducks & patridges for supper. Made a big fire & went to bed. Voorhies face bad. rained hard in the night &c but that, nothing when used to it + among the Indians &c.

Wednesday, April 4. clear [.] got up ½ past 3. & made a big fire & got dry. breakfasted on fowles tall living. who wouldnt be a mountaineer, met several going back, but there is no such thing in my book. off at 9. land mostly good [,] thinly timbered. arr' at Angels Camp at 10. in the mines. Many digging. Voorhies & Waters dug gold by the road side. camped here out on the hills. Made a tent by moonlight.

Thursday, April 5. pleasant. A cold frosty night, & c. Voorhies suffered much with this [sic] face all like to froze. bad digging here, boys dug a little & prospected. I finished the Tent & doctored Voorhies & watched the horses. provision scarce. fat pork crackers & sleep on the ground is all fun for us [;] go it while we're young. I have to cook &c &c

Friday, April 6. rained hard at night All took a hand at digging gold to day. got $36.—Made a ridiculous appearance laughed heartily at my self. Scratching my finger nails off among the rocks &c. found several peices. all men Equal in this business, no matter of what Nation or color. its truly "root pig or die" here. Cold nights still & bedding scarce.

Saturday, April 7. pleasant Voorhies, Waters, Hamblet, & Locke all went out & took a hand at digging gold. worked hard, made an ounce each. very good for bad diggings, all very tired. backs most broke. I kept house. Watched the horses [,] cooked, washed; & done many other little household matters, out of provision, got some flour, & made some cakes, went very fine. flour & Pork $1. per Llb.

Sunday, April 8. pleasant Voorhies & myself concluded to go to Stockton for provision. got our California ponies up & mounted without Saddle or bridle & off we dashed, a blanket & a Lasso & for our provision a few hard crackers only, for drink, Natures ale, getting along fast. camped at 4. O.clock a cool night.

Monday April 9. pleasant Slept in the road under a waggon with which we kept company for mutual safety, the Indians stealing all the horses they can get hold of, & dont mind killing man when they get a good chance. got thro' the Mountains all safe & camped at Fall's early

Tuesday, April 10. Warm & pleasant Paid $2.00 Each for the privilege

of sleeping under the waggon & eating a little pork & beans & a tin cup of bad coffee, left the ox-team & went ahead "large bodies moove slow," & so do oxen; got rather tender riding bare- back graceful figures indeed. got to Stockton before night. & found Peugh. —

Wednesday, April 11. rainy [.] Whitney. & Sutton[68] come up to day & brought my letters, one from P.D.I. from O.J.P. some from my brother. bought our provision & waited for Sutton & party. Staid in their Tent at night &c. cold & rainy

Thursday, April 12. pleasant Bought their horses,[69] all packed & off after dinner. a big party; and many on foot for the mountains Very much like work indeed, we went six miles & Camped, Pork & crackers for supper & for breakfast Vice Versa—cold night.

Friday, April 13. Pleasant Got off early, Sutton, Peugh & party some on foot & others on horseback, a new life to them & a hard one. all well tired before night: 25 miles across the plains without regard to any road & very hard walking. Voorhies suffers with the Rheumatize

Saturday, April 14. Slept well, got our Pork and crackers & off ½ past 7. poor Voorhies nearly crippled & unable to get a horse. got his dander up & walked like fury, occasionally cursing. a very bad road or rather, no road. Party stoped at 2. for the night. at 4. we left the camp to try our skill in navigating the woods & no

Sunday, April 15. road. done very well. struck the road close at our camp, but took the wrong course. travelled till after dark & camped. no supper. among the Indians. found our mistake this morn' & made camp at 7½ & hungry enough to eat a dead Jack ass. Sutton, Pew, Voorhies & myself. a great bore to get lost in sight of home.[70]

Monday, April 16. Very warm Diggers all getting discouraged with this place. Many leaving, too much water yet everywhere. all went out a prospecting. I cooked &c &c I started out to help dig, met all hands returning. no luck. I laughed most intolerably at their appearance as well as my own red wool shirts on, & Picks, Bars, Shovels, Spades, Pans & Knives in hand, all

Tuesday, April 17. look like back woodsman, & all curse their luck. Sutton & Peugh looked long-faced but t'want no use. "O well will I remember &c." To day all fell on the Old diggins. got 2 or 3. oz°, concluded to moove elsewhere on tomorrow. & look for richer diggins got some gold & much fun here.

Wednesday, April 18. Very warm Got breakfast early packed our horses & with packs on our backs Rifles, Pistols & Knives. making a formidable appearance off we started, on an exploring tour over everlasting hills 6 miles & Camped 1. Mile from Carson's creek. Got some gold here & concluded to stop awhile.

Thursday, April 19. Thunder & lightning last Eve' & a little rain. All out

a digging this morning. I got the dishes to wash &c &c a detestable job. I took the horses & went back to Angels & got the rest of our baggage. Mountains right straight up & down. no gold to day.

Friday, April 20. pleasant W.P.W. cook to day. all the rest out prospecting, & got fisherman's luck. the whole country mooving some one way & some an other. too much water yet. no tent, but an Old Oak. Slap Jacks & Pork & Pork & Slap Jacks all very fine.

Saturday, April 21. pleasant [.] I bought a horse for $200. this morn'. great times, "Oh! a life in the woods for me" &c. got 4.Oz. gold to day. Sutton, Pew & party & Copeland & party joined us. undecided which way to go. horse kicked Suttons pack into the trees & down the mountain & run off, come home. great time.

Sunday, April 22. The boys went out hunting this morning. to shoot a deer, a great many seen, wounded, &c &c, but I've no steak to cook. however Patridges and Rabits will do. all getting rather dainty tho' only eat about 5. large half-cooked Slap Jacks & ½ Llb Pork each at a meal, a few dry leaves & a few feathers & ashes makes them light & very fine.

Monday, April 23. Cloudy [.] Our appearance a very ridiculous one. Slip-Shod pantaloons, torn in bad places & red shirts out-side un-shaved & un-washed. 3. coats of dirt & grease constantly on hand (&face also.) digging ditches & post holes. pretty good Irishmen. soon be able to make wages, making fence.

Tuesday, April 24. pleasant I dug about an ounce of gold yesterday. Exciting work &c. All done pretty well. W.P.W. & self went out in pursuit of deer. Climbed to the crater of a Mountain from whence it is supposed all the gold comes. but little gold to day. rode up on the Mountains. saw deer &c. Brunson come. Brunson about to return to Woods;

Wednesday, April 25. pleasant A free country this, go with our shirt-tails out & no remarks made by the neighbors. do & say what we please. Sing, dance, whoop, play Shakespear, eat Slap-Jacks & sleep on the ground & no grumbling at the bills.

Thursday, April 26. pleasant [.] Carson's Creek. packed up & come here last eve' to try our luck here. found two lumps of gold to day making about $37.00 & some small lumps [.] Lieut Morrison was shot last Eve' by Dr Friend [.] Morrison was intoxicated. the trial will be tomorrow. an unfortunate circumstance [.] Mr Rahn committed

Friday, April 27. suicide on Wednesday night, all the above men were N.Y. Volunteer's [.][71] Voorhies was made Coroner, in case of Morrison. Mr Friend was tried to day & acquitted & 30. days given to leave the mines. W.P.W. shot a Fox. dug $67.00 of gold to day. Climbed the Mountains to day for the horses Mr. Pew & myself goes to Stockton to day.

Saturday, April 28. mounted my charger at 7. with two horses to drive & off we started to pack back. Camped near the double Springs. got a few

crackers & a small peice of Salmon for supper for $2.00 very cheap. Much pleased with my horse. worth $500.—

Sunday, April 29. pleasant A Rose early & rode to Stockton arrived at 9. in the Eve'. a Tent Town growing fast. Lumber selling at $1500.00 per M, & not to be had at that. 3. Brigs here as Store Ships. Much business doing here now, goods are selling high, but falling.

Monday, April 30. pleasant Cruised about got some freight & bought some goods to make up our loads. Goods coming up here fast 3. Launches to day. some passengers. some returning from the Mines, perfectly satisfied with the business. hard work "Great country this," all happy as Lords.

Tuesday, May 1. pleasant Got our horses up this morn' [.] went to work & fixed packs for 4. horses & was off as soon as we got dinner. went 8. miles & camped. dont like packing, I'd rather go "Amaying" than be a handling greasy pork & Kegs of Liquor &c &c.

Wednesday, May 2. warm Got a cup of coffee & some crackers & off Early went 30. miles & camped. Rattle Snakes, Lizards, Scorpions, Terantulars & other Vermin for bed-fellows, spose I must get used to them, for want of better. which I hope for some day.

Thursday, May 3. Got of Early. horse run away with his pack. got out of sight. found him 2. miles back. cost ½ a day; got dinner at The Double Springs [.] Beans. Salmon & crackers all for $1.50 well I should think he might. great eating houses, these.

Friday, May 4. pleasant Got off in good time & reached Carson's Creek before sundown. found all right. got enough of packing, dont think I'll follow the business. Boys made considerable gold since I've been gone.

Saturday, May 5. warm All hands went out digging got about $80. to day, bad looking gold. very much burnt & not washed but good. All getting worse dirty & piggish every day. Voorhies bare foot short breeches & red Shirt. looks wild.

Sunday, May 6. warm Voorhies Waters & myself have concluded to go to Francisco. tired of digging for the present. should like our friends to see us at this present writing. had a sing & dance out before the Tent, all hands Kicked up a dust & no mistake [.] W.P.W. & Eli. went to the 6. miles diggings

Monday, May 7. warm Voorhies & self dug a little gold & got tired & gave it up Locke made over $50.00 to day. getting ready to be off. Voorhies, Waters Peugh, Whitney & self. had a drink all round of E. Simms' Old Rye. a health to those far away.

Tuesday, May 8. warm Prepared for leaving, horses strayed away [;] all Rambled over the hills & mountains in search of them & found them about sun-down. had a last view of the country from a high Mountain. cant get off to night. concert.

Wednesday, May 9. warm Off in good time. bid all good bye & pack,

we started our treasures; Oh! All on foot. took the trail. got along very well. Peugh's Mule would run away & kick the pack off occasionally to make a job for me packing.

Thursday, May 10. warm Waters shot Pigeon's for breakfast. Off Early. got to Falls for dinner & left Voorhies, Waters & Whitney to come in an ox wagon. wore down. Rode 17. miles from 4. O'Cl'k to sundown & camped 8. miles from Stockton. Coffee & Salmon. (Gardner & Myres col[ore]d [?] Gent)

Friday, May 11. Very warm Rode in to Stockton in the Morn'—rather dull. many goods up & getting low. Hills & plains covered with flowers. beautiful & fragrant. wild Oats & Peas in abundance. All in, in good time. met several of the Philadelphia messengers.

Saturday, May 12. very warm Voorhies Whitney & Waters left in a Whale boat for Francisco. I go by the way of Puerblo [San Jose] with Peugh. Peugh's manifold misfortunes sore hand & sore backed horse & mule. Afraid of the Mule. laughable to see him ride [.] armies of people going to the mines &c.

Sunday, May 13. warm Started early for the San Joaquin. Crossed in a boat. river high. had to swim our horses over the Sloughs. Near getting them Mired. waded in mud & water waist deep all the afternoon. Need stems, but no fun. I lead the way Peugh frightened.

Monday, May 14. Camped after we passed all the water. wrung our clothes & got dry. slept well & feel fine this morn', crackers & jerk beef only [.] fell in with Christian of Utica N.Y. & Stewart of Ohio—started at 7. & rode 30. Miles to 11. O'cl'k. cant be beat

Tuesday, May 15. Rode over 40. miles yesterday thro' a beautiful country. crossed a prarie of over 30. Miles & then over a few hills & into a lovely valley covered with thousands of fat cattle. hills & plains covered with oats. got to the Mission of San Hosea (St. Joseph) a few doby houses but mostly forsaken. got to Peueblo about 3. O'Clock met about a 1000 Senorians on their way to the Mines[72] took tea with the Rev Mr. D.—

Wednesday, May 16. A lovely country is Pueblo Valley or the Mission of Santa Clara. an immense valley. good soil fruit & & vegetables easily raised but at present neglected everything absorbed by the Gold Mines. left this morn' for Santa Cruze. took dinner at Jones mill. found some rugged mountains to go over, right up & down got belated had a dark lonesome ride, but found the place about 9. at night. Stoped with the Rev Mr A.A. Hecox.[73] Very kind &c.

Thursday, May 17. pleasant Rode out to Mr. Moore's mill seat & took dinner with him & then we rode over to Lodge's Mill (a beautiful Ranch) then to Capt Graham's,[74] been long in this country, had ma[n]y bear fights &c a real old hunter. Much entertained with his stories & adventures. commenced raining hard at night—

Friday, May 18. rainy Look at his mills &c &c & left for Francisco. road very slippery & my horse had to slide down the mountains & myself also. a real wild Mountain trail only. great fun for me to see Pugh & his Mule sliding down hill over logs & through the bushes &c &c—

Saturday, May 19. rather cloudy & rainy Staid at Jone's in the Mountains. off Early, one big Mt to Climb. Pugh bids good bye to the Mountains he says. Saw a great many Deer & Grisly Bear yesterday. feeding: lost Pugh on the plains. Stoped at Mr Wistman 10. M. from Santa Clara

Sunday, May 20. Begin to feel as if I was again among civilized beings. Staid ½ a day & one night at Mr. Wistman's [;] a very kind & pleasant family. from Mo'. great many from Mo. poor when they came here, now rich.[75] left early for Francisco. a lovely valley & excellent land. grass & oats waist high for 50 Miles. grows good Wheat Barley corn Potatoes &c &c But no one to do it. arrived in good time found the Boys all well & doing well

(To be continued)

NOTES

66. Buffum wrote of a small boat, the *Ann*, ". . . a little launch of about ten tons burden, a mere ship's boat. . . ." Buffum, *op. cit.*, p. 26. Another man said that in May 1849 he went to Sacramento on a launch named the *Susannetta*. It held 35 persons and a crew of four. James L. Tyson, *Diary of a Physician in California . . .* (New York, 1850), p. 52.

67. Van Voorhies quit his job as postmaster general of California because the income from postage and receipts could not pay the expenses for postal duties and personal expenses. H. Ex. Doc., 31 Cong., 1 sess., no. 5, part 1, 785.

68. Owen Paul Sutton was born in New York State on Aug. 9, 1821. He left Washington City Feb. 1, 1849, reaching California on Apr. 1, 1849. When he went to Stockton on Apr. 11 of that year he took with him quantities of clothes, revolvers, and blankets, which he proceeded to sell at auction. O. P. Sutton, "Statement of Early Experiences" (MS in B.L.), p. 1; Mary F. Williams, ed., *Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851* (Berkeley, 1919), p. 813; also her *History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851* (Berkeley, 1921), p. 444; San Francisco *Call*, Sept. 8, 1890, p. 3:4.

69. Sutton paid $70 a hundred pounds for the hire of horses to carry his baggage to Angels Camp. A riding-horse would have cost $250 for hire and he would have risked its being stolen. Sutton, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

70. About an hour after arrival in camp, Sutton received a summons to serve on a jury trying a man who had been caught stealing gold. The man was found guilty and most of the jurors wanted to hang him, but Sutton succeeded in having the sentence changed to twenty lashes on the bare back. Sutton, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

71. Lieut. Roderick M. Morrison was in Co. K of Col. Jonathan Stevenson's New York Volunteers. Morrison's company was recruited in Chenango County, N. Y. It was mustered out at the Presidio of San Francisco in Aug. 1848. Francis D. Clark, *The First Regiment of New York Volunteers Commanded by Jonathan D. Stevenson, in the Mexican War . . .* (New York, 1882), pp. 47-8. This source agrees that Morrison was killed at Carson's Creek, but puts the date at Apr. 18, 1849. *Ibid.*, p. 47. There was

a Henry J. Friund of Co. D in Stevenson's regiment, but no Friend, according to Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 34, nor does he mention anyone named Rahn. The nearest names to Rahn are John Roane of the regimental band, a Joshua Rand of Co. C, a George Rand, and finally a James Rowan, all of whose whereabouts were unknown in 1882. *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 31, 41, 103.

72. Jacques Moerenhout, French consul at Monterey, wrote on this same day, "Over ten thousand people from Sonora and Lower California, men, women and children, have passed within a few leagues of Monterey during the last two months, and more keep coming." A. P. Nasatir, ed., *The Inside Story of the Gold Rush* (San Francisco, 1935), p. 57.

73. Rev. Adna A. Hecox, Methodist Episcopal minister, was born near Detroit, Mich., on Jan. 26, 1806. He came to California in a party of 57, reaching the Sacramento Valley in Oct. 1846 and the Santa Clara Valley during the next month. With his wife he moved to Santa Cruz in mid-February, 1847. Charles V. Anthony, *Fifty Years of Methodism* (San Francisco, 1901), pp. 7-9.

74. Capt. Isaac Graham came to California from Tennessee in 1833 by an overland route. He settled in Santa Cruz in 1841 and there erected the first sawmill in California. He figured in a revolt in 1836 in which Juan Alvarado, a Californian, tried to overthrow the Mexican government in California and make the territory independent. Santa Cruz *Evening News*, Aug. 1, 1936, p. 7:1-8; H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886), III, 762-63.

75. The Whisman, or Whistman, family was from Missouri and came to California in 1847 where they took up stock-raising and farming. They also ran a wayside inn between San Francisco and San Jose. Letter of Lorenzo Whisman, n.d., in San Jose *Weekly Mercury*, Oct. 16, 1879, p. 3:2. Chester Lyman, who stopped at Whistman ranch on Apr. 9, 1849, spoke of the good food there. C. S. Lyman, *Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands and California, 1845-1850*, ed. by F. J. Taggart (New Haven, 1924), p. 291. Whistman started a stagecoach line between San Jose and San Francisco in the autumn of 1849. Oscar O. Winther, *Via Western Express & Stagecoach* (Stanford University, 1945), pp. 5-6. See Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado* . . . (New York, 1864) p. 67, for a visit to the Whistman ranch in Aug. 1849.

The California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins

(Continued)

XIX.

The winter of 1868-9 was signalized by the inauguration of the corrupt lobby at Sacramento, for which W. C. Ralston and Jonathan Hunt were originally responsible; Ralston himself told me that the amount of money passing through his hands to influence legislation that session was between $700,000 and $800,000. Unfortunately these men, in wielding the destinies of the great Pacific Insurance Company, convinced the politicians that underwriters would always be willing to pay for their votes when needed. They got through the insurance commissioner bills that session, at a cost to the Pacific of $80,000, but underwriters have never been able to secure any legislation since, whenever they have refused to buy it; while at every session they are threatened with the enactment of oppressive measures, which they are put to their trumps to defeat, even with the use of money. So much for the bad precedent.

Previous to the session of 1868-9 there had been but two statutes enacted, providing in a very crude manner for the incorporation of insurance companies, and there was no provision whatever for the regulation of such companies, nor any check on the establishment of agencies from abroad. This statutory laxity had been frequently taken advantage of by sharpers in the agency department, and was now protecting Tom Mooney and his wild-cat Builders Insurance Company, in setting the most insidious insurance trap that had yet been laid for gulls in California. . . . By some hocus-pocus, he managed to get up a savings bank of which he became president and manager. . . . After a couple of successful years in this position, he formed an insurance company with the nominal capital of $50,000, whereof only $10,000 (borrowed from deposit on funds in the bank) was ever paid in. On this basis he challenged all the heavy offices in the field to a free competition. Industry, advertising, thorough and systematic canvassing and appeals to political and religious prejudice, wrought wonders among the numerous Irish Catholics in bringing him business. He actually made them pay higher rates, under pretense of opposition, than were charged by the board companies. He worked his income up to $30,000 per month. Yet he would compel claimants to accept 50% of their just losses, on the ground that the company was insolvent and that he expected the sheriff to attach the assets any moment! Now, to stand the drain of this irresponsible competition was a severe task for all the good offices. Yet, to have any local company fail, we felt would be a blow to the credit of all the others. There

was no law to meet this case. The task of framing it was committed to me.

I drew two bills: one creating the office of insurance commissioner and defining his duties and powers, and one prescribing the conditions for the future incorporation of locals and for the admission of companies from other states and countries. These were introduced under the care of D. J. Staples and H. H. Bigelow, acting as a committee of the underwriters. A tremendous opposition at once developed in both houses, in which "money" had many friends among politicians pretending to favor free competition, while really clamoring for coin. They had tasted blood in the senatorial election, which was awarded to Eugene Casserly, an utterly unfit aspirant, in consideration of $150,000 in bribes. So certainly was this job known that Casserly resigned his seat after a couple of years nominal service (for he was of no use in the senate) rather than face a threatened investigation at Washington.

But the underwriters generally, though they had agreed to pay their respective shares of such sum not exceeding $10,000 as might be required for the legitimate expenses of passing the bills, were entirely opposed to bribery; nor would any result have been attained in the purchase of votes by so small a sum as $10,000. Not so with the Pacific! Ralston, the open-handed, energetic, successful president of the great Bank of California, said to the committee ere they left for the capitol, "Don't spare money, boys! Pass the bill whatever it costs and draw on me for all you want!" Cunning, unscrupulous Ralston! Little he knew then that the $80,000 the Pacific advanced through him to force the enactment of those bills was the price that company was paying for the privilege of committing suicide at Chicago!

I have previously alluded to the intentions and attempts of that ambitious company to monopolize the insurance business on this coast. Its measures to that effect were shrewdly devised, and kept the other companies in continual hot water. Its first move was to join both fire and marine boards in the agreement to maintain uniform rates and rules. This being thoroughly effected, the next step was quietly to procure the passage of a law, excluding from California every company that did not deposit $75,000 in the state. This drove out at once thirty-three eastern companies, who would not or could not make the deposit. Oregon, under the same secret influence, soon after enacted a $50,000 deposit law. Only the Pacific with its $1,250,000 assets could and did comply with this requirement, and for awhile it transacted all the Oregon business. Nevada came next with $100,000, but while the bill was under discussion in the legislature and newspapers, the underwriters in San Francisco prepared a vigorous protest against its passage, which all signed except the Pacific, Mr. Hunt refusing his signature on the ground that "his company never mixed in politics on principle," and vociferously denying that anyone connected with his company had anything to

do with or even knew of the intention to pass deposit bills in California or Oregon! The protest went up to Carson City, but the same paper which published the report of its presentation to the legislature also printed a letter from Mr. Hunt informing that body that "if the bill passed, the Pacific would comply with all its provisions by purchasing at par $100,000 of Nevada state bonds"!

Now the State of Nevada having just been admitted [Oct. 31, 1864] had not had time to pass any revenue law, and therefore had no means to pay the per diem of the members of this, its first legislative body. Bonds had been issued for this purpose but they could not be sold. Under these circumstances, the offer of the Pacific was of course accepted, and that company had for two years, or until the repeal of the law, the control of all the insurance business in that state.

The next move was to thin out its remaining competitors. H. H. Bigelow, a smart, energetic, and driving fire underwriter, had the agencies of the six companies that Hunt had bought out in 1856, to which he added the Phoenix of Brooklyn and others. Hunt resolved to buy out Bigelow. The first step to this end was the simultaneous withdrawal of the Pacific from both fire and marine tariffs. This of course produced a panic in rates. The California re-insured all its fire risks and abandoned that branch for a time.

Bigelow having been secretly offered a five years' engagement as general agent by the Pacific at $10,000 per annum if he would persuade his companies to re-insure their large business with the Pacific and withdraw, so frightened his principal by lugubrious letters, that he succeeded. The great cormorant gobbled up their premium income, then $30,000 per month, and, having so far succeeded in its tortuous course, undertook to lay the Atlantic states under contribution for the additional revenue that should enable it to drive out all other companies here through the low rates at which, the tariffs being now abolished, it was forcing us to do business as the alternative of shutting up shop.

So Mr. Hunt started east and spent a year trying to establish agencies. But he had this time reckoned without his host. For no sooner had the obnoxious deposit laws been enacted on this coast, than so many eastern states passed retaliatory measures that the Pacific's president found it necessary to deposit $75,000 in every state where he desired to plant an agent. He had not money enough to go 'round! Therefore, either the eastern plant must be abandoned or the deposit law in California must be repealed. Thinking that the attractions of a gold basis and the personal responsibility of California stockholders would attract a profitable business east, and that the present low rates on our side would destroy the motive of eastern companies to restore their California agencies, he decided to procure the repeal of the deposit law. Tacking this clause on our bills, he became the most rabid of all the local underwriters in favor of their passage, and this

having been secured regardless of cost, the company went east and was ruined in the great Chicago conflagration three years later.

Meantime, our bills having become laws, George W. Mowe, an excellent business man, was appointed commissioner and made short work of Mooney and his fraudulent Builders. He found that it required $123,000 to give that company its $50,000 capital unimpaired; in default whereof the concern was wound up. Mooney's savings bank soon followed. He and the funds disappeared simultaneously, and the last I heard from him, he was living in Belgium, whither he had escaped from a British jail in which he had been immured as a Fenian.

The movement of the Pacific towards the eastern states in fire business shortly proved infectious. The Union, Fireman's Fund, National, Occidental, and People's soon followed.

The California was repeatedly urged to join the crowd, but I never even allowed the matter to be laid before the directors. I knew that the conditions of business there were far more adverse than on the Pacific coast, while competition was far greater, so that I never believed that any money was to be made by the attempt.

When, therefore, the Pacific, Occidental, and People's were completely swamped, and the Fireman's Fund and Union had to assess their stock 50% and 45%, respectively, losing all their surplus funds and borrowing money besides, all in consequence of the great Chicago fire of 1871, the California remained the only local that did not lose a dollar thereby! Nor did we suffer at Boston a year later where the Fireman's Fund lost $200,000 more.

But these disasters had not happened in 1868, and the desire to plant marine agencies in New York began to be as rabid as in the extension of the fire business. In the spring of this year I was offered $12,000 per annum salary to undertake the New York marine agency of the National, Occidental, Union, and Fireman's Fund. This was double my San Francisco emolument, yet I dared not risk its acceptance. I feared the sharpness of New York competition and dealers, the credit system, paper money, the severity of the winters, and the loss of my reputation if I failed to make a success. I declined and turned my influence in favor of the New York firm of Lawson & Walker, who applied for the agency. All of the companies named, except the National, employed these gentlemen, who succeeded, notwithstanding their eminent reputation as skilled underwriters and adjusters, in losing $100,000 for their employers before the great fire of Chicago came and destroyed them all! I saved both the company's bacon and my own that time!

In 1869 the first Pacific railroad was completed and San Francisco was at last brought within seven days of New York. Great expectations of the results of this change in our relations with the east were indulged in by the masses of our people. In the confident anticipation of a rush of immigration,

real estate had been put up to high prices and merchants had prepared for a large increase in the volume of their transactions. But for some reason, probably the high fares exacted, the immigrants did not come. Reaction followed with its usual results. It became evident that some unusual effort must be made to turn in our direction some portion of the great western movement of population that, starting in Europe, seemed to lose itself in the Mississippi Valley.

A young man named W. H. Martin, who had been in the employ of the Baltimore International Immigrant Society, came to me one day with a proposal to form a San Francisco branch of that institution. I invited a few public spirited gentlemen to meet him. We discussed his proposal but it seemed to us that San Francisco was of sufficient importance to have a distinct organization of its own, and would in no event be satisfied with playing the part of tail to Baltimore's kite. So we decided to form *THE CALIFORNIA IMMIGRANT UNION*, whose object it should be to undertake the task of thoroughly advertising California among the immigrating classes.[88] We were to furnish only truthful information by means of pamphlets, maps, letters, and free lectures. We were to appoint soliciting agents at London, Hamburg, and New York. We were to have an office in each of those places and in San Francisco, to direct immigrants to public lands, to cut up and sell in small tracts the large ranches that might be consigned to us; and, while opposing Chinese immigration, we designed using all practical means to fill up the vast, empty territory with Americans or at least with people that could be made Americans of. We set out to do all this by subscription until the legislature could be induced to appropriate $100,000 per annum to this great object, worth millions in increasing our population, wealth, and power in the nation and the world.

The merchants and business responded nobly. Twelve thousand dollars was raised and expended the first year. Eight thousand the second. We had a strong board of directors who attended faithfully to business. John S. Hittell, the well-known writer on the resources of the Pacific coast, prepared for us his pamphlet, "All About California," which we printed and circulated by the ten thousand copies in English and German. We received and answered 20,000 letters in two years. Meantime, we were besieging the legislature to pass the bills we had prepared for the assumption of this work by the state. I was president of the association (which was incorporated), and in that capacity I wrote a pamphlet entitled "Common Sense on the Immigrant Question," of which 10,000 copies were distributed all over the state.

The object of this brochure was to manufacture public opinion in favor of our object, so as to affect the legislature then about to assemble. Its style was more vigorous than wise. Instead of conciliating friends, it roused criticism, suspicion, ridicule, and opposition in nearly all the papers that

noticed it. I pointed out that there was an aching void in our agricultural regions which were awaiting only population to multiply our exports many times, but that mining for gold and silver, always a delusion and a snare, was no longer an inducement to immigration. This roused the ire of the mining sharps. I showed (among the first) that the increasing Chinese occupation of the state was an evil to be promptly discountenanced, and this excited the hostility of all the employers of Chinese cheap labor. I quoted statistics on immigration from Castle Garden, Australia, and the western states which offended the optimists among the editors, who denounced me for holding up these "foreign" ideas to Californians! We asked the state for a large appropriation. We had two men on our list of directors who were notorious and unpopular by reason of their speculations in country lands. We also had Leland Stanford and Charles Crocker on our honorary committee, and these being railroad men, a hue and cry was raised after them. The almost unanimous howl that greeted our efforts was articulated in the slander that we were a set of land sharks and railroad thieves, who wanted the state to pay the expenses of finding purchasers for our lands and passengers for our railroads, while the Bohemians and bummers, who did the dirty work, wanted to travel in Europe and enjoy themselves at the state's expense. "Lord, how this world is given to lying!" These falsehoods traveled all over the state before truth could get its boots on. They lied us to death! Our bill was disposed of by striking out the enacting clause, notwithstanding I converted the joint committee of both houses on immigration to a favorable report in an hour's speech (the room being crowded with other members), in which I lashed the liars with all the energy that virtuous indignation could inspire in a Hopkins.

However, we carried on the work so far as we could on the subscriptions received during two years, when, thinking we had outlived the prejudice against us, we again approached the legislature, asking, however, only $30,000 this time. But the howl immediately revived. We failed again. We then abandoned the effort. In a philippic worthy of my brother Charlie, I invited the editors to our funeral, and for a while I felt like applying to myself that well-worn, wondrous-wise dictum of the Master, "Cast not your pearls before swine, for they will trample them under their feet and turn again and rend you."

My associates in the enterprise were men so well known that the mere mention of their names to any old San Franciscan will be a sufficient vindication of the objects of the Union. The trustees were: L. Gottig, for 25 years president of the German Savings & Loan Society;[89] H. J. Booth, banker and Swiss consul; M. J. O'Connor, iron merchant; A. D. Bell, editor, San Francisco merchant; Alex. Weill of Lazard Frères, bankers; Charles Kohler, of Kohler & Frohling, the pioneer California wine manufacturers; G. O'Hara Taafe, Danish consul; A. Seligman, banker; Charles Clayton,

produce dealer; August Helbing, dealer in crockery; S. O. Putnam, secretary, California Steam Navigation Company. Crocker, Stanford, Friedlander & Chapman, whose names so badly hurt us but who took no active part, were on our honorary committee. Charles S. Capp, real-estate agent, was our corresponding secretary. W. H. Martin was our general agent.

The dissolution of this association, however, left a void which several attempts were made to fill. The Grangers, who during the '70s sprang into life on our coast and attempted banking, shipping, insurance, warehousing, storekeeping, and other enterprises, all of which they have since abandoned (finding my experience that business cannot be handled by a crowd), tried their hand at a short-lived and useless immigration movement.[90] But after several years, the Board of Trade took up the matter in a vigorous and businesslike manner. The society thus organized continued its quiet and efficient work, until the present year, 1888, when immigration into California is strong enough to take care of itself.

My engagement with the California Insurance Company did not require me to devote my whole time to its interests. I was therefore free to engage in anything that did not involve neglect of my duties as president. Nevertheless, I now began to hear expressions of the directors, finding fault with my growing identification with other matters. It was partly on this account that I was glad to resign from the Immigrant Union. I now felt compelled, from the same motive, to decline further service as secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, and accordingly handed in my resignation September 1, 1869. This office paid me one hundred dollars per month. Washington Bartlett, since governor, was glad to take fifty as my successor, though all he had to do, or could do, was to keep the records and attend to mere clerical work.[91] On my retirement, I received from the trustees a very complimentary letter in acknowledgment of my services. It said, "The energy and zeal you have displayed during your term of office, have called for and received the warmest approbation not only of the members of the Chamber of Commerce, but of the entire body of our merchants; while the admirable system under which the business of the Chamber of Commerce has been carried on by you has greatly facilitated the labors of your associates, and it is believed has materially advanced the commercial interests of San Francisco. . . ."

The time had now arrived when the California Insurance Company, after several removals from office to office, was to be permanently housed in an elegant and substantial building of its own. Our first tenancy was in the second story of a crockery building on the southeast corner of Battery and Commercial streets. Our next was in the second story of the brick store building on the northwest corner of Clay and Front streets, with a fireworks store under us. While there, in 1864, we purchased for $20,500 the lot, 318

California Street, on which the office is now established, together with a cheap two-story brick building thereon.

President M'Ruer recommended this purchase to the directors, who declined to act without the authority of the stockholders. A meeting of the latter body having been called there-anent, the proposition was, to the astonishment of the officers, unanimously rejected! M'Ruer felt this opposition very keenly, but in a few days I got a written authorization for the president to consummate the purchase, signed by every stockholder, notwithstanding their votes against it in the meeting! M'Ruer was surprised, and wondered how I could succeed when he so signally failed. I reminded him of the fable of the bundle of sticks, infrangible when bound together, but easily broken one by one. So we bought the property, fitted up the ground floor of the store as an office, putting in large plate glass windows, with gilt signs, and for a year we were happy, being the only insurance company in San Francisco as yet occupying its own building.

But in November 1865, came the celebrated earthquake shock of that year. It made our building unsafe, cracked all the weaker places in the front and rear, and so sprung the side walls that to keep the roof in place we had to put in heavy cross rods to prevent further spreading. We decided to erect a new building as soon as possible.

On our right there stood an old iron structure of English make, which had been imported for sale, bought and erected in 1851 by Fred'k Griffing, then one of the bondsmen of the collector, T. Butler King, and who got paid for the risk of letting that building to the government for an appraiser's store at $30,000 per annum! On our left stood a miserable shanty, owned and occupied as a carriage store by O. F. Willey. Now these buildings were all on "made ground." There was forty feet of mud below us, for I had often in 1849 rowed a boat over the spot, and no heavy building was possible there except on foundations of either piles or plank.

But our lot was very small, only twenty by seventy feet, and it would be building to great disadvantage, unless we could agree on party walls on both sides, using a common foundation. To do this we had to wait three years, or until the Boston owner of the corner lot had sold it to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, from whom it was bought by the well-known grain operator, Isaac Friedlander, in 1868.[92] And now, only, did it have an owner who was willing to build. Our plans were accelerated by the shock of October in that year, which did all the serious damage yet caused in San Francisco by earthquakes, and which utterly destroyed or seriously damaged a number of buildings in our vicinity; though, strange to say, it only closed the cracks and squared the crooks made by the shock of 1865 in ours.

So we now all three went concurrently to work. To be sure, Willey would not move until our company had agreed to lend him $30,000 for

five years at the then low rate of 10%, nor until Friedlander had induced the firm of Cross & Company to hire his buildings when finished at $750 per month for a like term. We then employed Wright & Sanders,[93] the since eminent firm of English architects, to make our plans and superintend their execution; and the present massive and durable earthquake proof structure on the N.E. corner of California and Sansome streets was the result.

That building is ninety feet square and four stories in height, including the basement; 700 tons of wrought and cast iron were used in its construction; it cost $160,000. Our portion of it cost $34,000 and was at once rented for $6,000 per year, besides our own rent free, worth $4,000 per year.

I had our office finished in solid walnut, carved from original designs by the architects, with the monogram of the company and symbols representing our business, seal, etc. Plate glass and gilt signs, rich cornices, and furniture to match, completed the outfit, which was the most elegant of any office then in San Francisco. I was complimented for all of this in the manner usual towards me with the directors of the company, who had appointed a building committee at the beginning of the work. This committee consisting of myself, Dr. Merritt and A. J. Pope, had held only one meeting, at which the plans were approved and I was instructed to go ahead and execute them, which I did alone.

At the first meeting of the board in the new office, Jerome Lincoln moved "that the thanks of the board be tendered to the building committee for the ability, taste, and economy shown in the erection of the building." Mr. Pope, however, exclaimed, "You needn't thank me, for I had nothing to do with it." Merritt also blurted out, "You needn't thank me, for I had nothing to do with it." "Oh," replied Lincoln, "if that is so, I withdraw my motion." How is that for appreciation?

(To be continued)

NOTES

88. A brief discussion of Hopkins' ideas on the subject of immigration may be found in Charles A. Barker, "Henry George and the California Background of *Progress and Poverty*," this QUARTERLY, XXIV (June 1945), 108-10, 112. See also "General Review," Langley's directory for 1871, pp. 45-46, where a contemporaneous account is given of the Immigrant Union and its attempt to secure legislation. Brief mention of John F. Swift's connection with the subject of Chinese immigration is made under Chandler in the Marginalia section of this QUARTERLY.

89. Lawrence [or Laurence] Gottig (spelled either with or without the umlaut) and Otto Schoemann appear first in the San Francisco directories in 1865, where they are designated as "merchants, (La Paz, L. C.)"; in 1867, the entry is changed to read: "merchants and acting consul for Prussia, Oldenburg and Baden"; the next year they are given simply as merchants. As to Gottig's affiliation with the German Savings Bank and Loan Society, incorporated Feb. 10, 1868—on page cii of the 1868 *Directory* (see also p. 4, under "General Review") is a half-page advertisement of this institution; their

"guarantee capital" is said to be $200,000; office at 513 California Street; loans made on real estate and other collateral securities at the current rates of interest; G. Wetzler secretary, C. F. Melbius president. Two hundred shares were issued of $1000 each, all owned by "prominent and well-known German citizens." L. Gottig first appears as president in 1869 with George Lette as secretary.

90. For attitude of the members of this early farm organization toward one another and toward the problems that brought them together, see *Official Report,* First Annual Meeting, California State Grange, Patrons of Husbandry (San Francisco: Pacific Rural Press, 1873); and *Proceedings,* California Sate Grange. . . . Second Annual Session (San Jose: Granger Office, 1874).

91. Washington Bartlett (b. Feb. 29, 1824), son of Cosam Emar Bartlett of Augusta, Ga., was a San Francisco pioneer of 1849. In February of the following year he began publication of the *Journal of Commerce,* but his plant was gutted within the next few months by the fires of May 4 and June 14. With two of his brothers, Columbus and Julian, who had joined him from the East, he made other publishing attempts, among them the *Evening News.* He was elected mayor of San Francisco in 1882 and was re-elected in 1884. Bartlett's term as governor (Democrat) in 1887 was cut short by his death on Sept. 12th of that year. He was succeeded by the lieutenant-governor, R. W. Waterman, a Republican. Louis Bartlett, a resident of Berkeley, is a nephew of the former governor, being one of the sons of Columbus Bartlett. Columbus Bartlett was a regent of the University of California from Sept. 17, 1887, to March 20, 1896. Washington Bartlett is sometimes confused with Lt. Washington A. Bartlett, American alcalde of San Francisco, 1846-47 (for example, by Bancroft, *op. cit.,* VII, 433-34, note 43, in his biographical sketch of Washington Bartlett; also, the two individuals are coupled in one entry in the index).

92. Isaac Friedlander is listed simply as commission merchant in 1868, but with the rise in production of wheat in California (viz., from 17,328 bushels for the period "1870-1860-1850" to 29,017,707 bushels in 1879. See *Compendium of the Ninth Census,* Washington, 1872, p. 696; and W. H. Brewer, "Report on the Cereal Production of the United States," in *Miscel. Docs.,* House of Representatives . . . 1882-83, Washington, 1883, XIII, pt. 3, p. 76), he becomes "grain dealer," in addition to commission merchant.

93. John Wright and George H. Sanders, architects, began to be listed in San Francisco directories in 1868, with an office at 19 Stevenson House. They were one of the thirty-eight architectural firms then practicing in San Francisco; by 1878 this number had increased to sixty-three.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

February 1, 1948 to April 30, 1948

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From an ANONYMOUS DONOR–Bohemian Club, *The Land of Happiness; a Music Drama, Book by Charles Templeton Crocker, Music by Joseph D. Redding,* San Francisco [c1917].

From an ANONYMOUS DONOR–*The Tanaka Memorial, an Outline Presented to the Japanese Emperor on July 25, 1927 by Premier Tanaka for the Japanese Conquest of China and Other Nations; also a Prediction of a Japanese-American War,* San Francisco [n. d.]; Shiozaki, Kanzo, *Japan's Position in the Far Eastern Conflict* [n. p., ca1937]; *A Plan of Japan's Proposed Military and Naval Conquest as Revealed in the Strategic Map* [San Francisco, n. d.].

From MR. CLYDE ARBUCKLE–Wyatt, Roscoe D. and Arbuckle, Clyde, *Historic Names, Persons and Places in Santa Clara County,* San Jose, 1948.

From MR. K. K. BECHTEL–Finnie, Richard, comp. and ed., *Marinship; the History of a Wartime Shipyard, Told by Some of the People who Helped Build the Ships, Sausalito, California, 1942-1945,* San Francisco, 1947.

From the late MR. ALBERT M. BENDER–Book Club of California, California Poetry Folios: No. 11, Winters, Yvor, *To the Holy Spirit,* San Francisco, 1947; No. 12, Jeffers, Robinson, *Natural Music,* San Francisco, 1947.

From BERKELEY GUARANTEE SAVINGS & LOAN ASSOCIATION–*The Berkeley Scene, 1922-1947* [Berkeley, 1948].

From MR. JOHN G. BRUCATO–His: *The Farmer Goes to Town; the Story of San Francisco's Farmers' Market,* San Francisco, 1948.

From MR. ALLEN L. CHICKERING–*Who's Who in America; a Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women, Vol. 24, 1946-1947,* Chicago, 1946.

From COLLEGE OF THE PACIFIC–Hunt, Rockwell D., *California Ghost Towns Live Again;* foreword by Robert E. Burns, Stockton, 1948. (Publications of the California History Foundation, No. 1, March, 1948).

From MR. R. H. CROSS–*Proceedings, Western Governors' Conference, Portland, Oregon ... December 12 and 13, 1947* [n. p., 1948?]; Bartholomew, Harland, and Associates, St. Louis, *A Report on Freeways and Major Streets in Oakland, California, Prepared for the City Council of the City of Oakland, California,* St. Louis, 1947; *Commerce and Industry, Directory of Information, San Francisco Bay Area, December 1947,* San Francisco, San Francisco Bay Area Council, Inc., 1947.

From MR. H. P. DAVIS–His: *Nevada City; a Brief Historical Review of Nevada City in the Early Days,* Nevada City [1948].

From MR. R. A. DOUD–Jackson, Charles Tenney, *The Day of Souls; a Novel,* Indianapolis [c1910].

From MR. W. T. ELLIS–His: *The Questionable Ethics of Power Companies in General and of the Pacific Gas & Electric Company in Particular; an Address ... at a Public Meeting held in the City Hall, Marysville, California, January 14, 1948* [n. p., 1948].

From MR. FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR–His: *The Grizzly Bear Hunter of California; a Bibliographical Essay,* San Francisco, 1948.

From MR. JAMES K. FISK–Prospectus: *Panama-Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco, 1915* [n. p., n. d.].

From MR. EMANUEL FRITZ–*His:* Willis Linn Jepson, 1867-1946; Lover of California's Trees and Flowers, reprinted from the *Journal* of California Horticultural Society, Vol. IX, No. 1 (January 1948); Willis Linn Jepson, 1867-1946; a Eulogy and a Bit of California Forestry History, reprinted from *California Forester,* Vol. XIV, No. 3 (April 1947).

From MR. BENJAMIN F. GILBERT–U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910; Abstract of the Census,* Washington, 1913.

From MRS. JEROME A. HART–Camp, William Martin, *San Francisco, Port of Gold,* New York, 1947.

From LAKEPORT CARNEGIE LIBRARY–*Stories and Legends of Lake County,* Compiled in 1935 by Ruth Lewis, Cora Benson, Leta Benson, Nathallie Fitzgerald [n. p., c1936].

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.–Windle, Ernest, *Windle's History of Santa Catalina Island (with Map),* 2nd ed., Avalon, c1940.

From MR. HENRY L. OLSEN–*Lincoln Grammar School, a Record Compiled for the Boys,* San Francisco, 1938.

From MR. PAUL P. PARKER–*Here's to Casey!* [n. p., n. d.] (With biographical notes by Paul P. Parker); [Webb, Charles Henry] *John Paul's Book: Moral and Instructive: Consisting of Travels, Tales, Poetry, and like Fabrications,* by John Paul [pseud.], Hartford, Conn., and Chicago, 1874.

From MR. W. STANLEY PEARCE–Ryder, David Warren, *They Wouldn't Take Ashes for an Answer,* San Francisco [c1948].

From PROFESSOR L. J. RICHARDSON–*Journal of a Voyage Taken by George Stevens Aboard the Sailing Vessel "North American", A. Austin, Master, Sailing Around Cape Horn from New York to San Francisco, April 1 to August 31, 1852* [n. p., n. d.].

From SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION–Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1946-1947,* Washington, 1948.

From SOUTHWEST MUSEUM–Harrington, Mark Raymond, *An Ancient Site at Borax Lake, California,* Los Angeles, 1948. (Southwest Museum Papers, No. 16).

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From STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS–Weston, Otheto, *Mother Lode Album,* Stanford [c1948]; Hoover, Mildred Brooke, Rensch, H. E., and Rensch, H. G., *Historic Spots in California,* revised by Ruth Teiser, with an introduction by Robert Glass Cleland, Stanford [c1948].

From STATE OF CALIFORNIA. OFFICE OF PLANNING AND RESEARCH–Its: *California Reports on Planning* [Sacramento] 1948.

From MRS. AGNES TOLBERT–*The Genealogical History of Jacob Shafer (Memorial Album)* compiled by Agnes Hodgins Tolbert, Edith Shaffer Hodgins and Ruth Myers Goppert, arranged and revised by Agnes Hodgins Tolbert, Belleville, Kan., [c1947].

From UNITED STATES. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS–U. S. Library of Congress, *An Album of American Battle Art, 1755-1918,* Washington, 1947.

From MR. HOMER C. VOTAW–*His:* When the Navy was Host to Hawaii's King, reprinted from the United States Naval Institute Proceedings, Vol. 74, No. 1, Whole No. 539 (January 1948).

From MR. ROBERT L. WOODS–The Westerners. Los Angeles Corral, *The Westerners Brand Book* [n. p.] 1947.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MR. ANSON S. BLAKE–*British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 4-Vol. XII, No. 1 (October 1947-January 1948).

From MR. R. H. CROSS–*Oakland Tribune Yearbook 1948*.

From MR. RALPH K. DAVIES–*Script*, v. 33 (April 1947) and continuation.

From MR. ROY HILL–Pacific Coast Numismatic Society, *Numismatic Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (February 1948) and continuation.

From SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS–Giffen, Helen S., ed., *Publication of the Society of California Pioneers for the year 1947*, San Francisco [c1948].

MANUSCRIPTS

From MISS ESTO B. BROUGHTON–Completed biographical forms on pioneers in Stanislaus and Tuolumne Counties.

From MR. THORNTON EMMONS–Copy of deed of part of Saucelito tract granted to W. A. Richardson by the Mexican government, April 16, 1849.

From MR. TEMPLE R. HOLLCROFT–Check on Wells, Fargo & Company signed by Edwin B. Morgan, New York, July 23, 1867.

From MR. GEORGE H. KELLOGG–Papers of George D. Kellogg.

From MR. PAUL P. PARKER–Miller, Henry, *Management of Miller and Lux Ranches in California, Nevada and Oregon; a compilation of the Letters of Henry Miller for use of the General Manager and Superintendent of Miller & Lux Ranches*, compiled by Paul P. Parker. (typewritten.)

From FIRM OF RHEIN, DIENSTAG & LEVIN–Bell, Theodore A., *Daily Journal for 1906*.

From MRS. JOHN R. VOORHEES–Letter written by J. Wesley Jones to Walter D. H. Jones.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MR. GORDON BENDORE–Eight pictures of Coloma and people associated with Coloma.

From MISS ESTO B. BROUGHTON–Photograph of Old Rock building at La Grange, California, built by Frenchmen about 1848.

From MRS. GEORGE L. CADWALADER–Sixteen miscellaneous photographs.

From MR. JOHN C. CATLIN–Photograph of Amos Parmalee Catlin accompanied by a biographical sketch.

From MRS. DONALD A. COHEN–Painting by Joseph Lee of the ferry boat Alameda built by Alfred A. Cohen.

From MRS. EVELYN MALONE CURRO–Drawing made in 1946 by Evelyn Curro of the old Clark home, familiarly known as the Humphreys house, presented to the Society in honor of Mrs. Jerome Hart, whose father built this house in 1852.

From MR. THORNTON EMMONS–Photograph of Rear-admiral George F. Emmons.

From the EMPORIUM–Five photographs of the California centennial displays, the Emporium, January 19-24, 1948.

From MR. GROVER A. MAGNIN–Two photographs of the exteriors of the old and the new I. Magnin buildings.

From MR. G. H. METCALF–Three post cards: Plaque at the location of Sutter's Mill; Coloma Beach on the American River; Emanuel Church, Coloma.

From MR. D. L. RIGDEN–Map: U. S. Coast Survey, 1869, San Francisco Peninsula.

From MRS. IVA ROBINSON–Two photographs: Golden Gate Park and view from Telegraph Hill; Queen of the Pacific off for San Diego, San Francisco.

From MR. E. DENYS ROWE—Sixty-four stereoscopic views of California Missions photographed by Watkins.

From MR. AND MRS. HAROLD J. SHADE—Three photographs: Parlor of the old Cliff House, 1869; Balcony of the Cliff House, 1870; Foster's Homestead House, San Francisco, 1883.

From MR. LOUIS STEIN, JR.—Collection of photographs of the San Francisco earthquake and fire, 1906.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MRS. GEORGE L. CADWALADER—Certificate naming Al Santoro caballero of the fiesta celebrating the completion of the Golden Gate Bridge in 1937.

From MRS. JENNIE LONG DOUGHTY—Invitation: From Mr. William Sharon to meet General and Mrs. Grant at Belmont, Wednesday evening, October eighth [1879].

From MR. R. W. MULLER—Tuolumne County, Board of Supervisors, Proclamashun! January 4, 1948.

From MR. RICHARD SCHLAICH—Complete set of San Francisco street car transfers, April 17, 1906 (day before the earthquake and fire).

From MR. W. A. STARR—Shot gun: One of two made about 1868 by De Walle Frères of Liege, Belgium, on a special order for A. D. Starr of Marysville and Lyman Belding of Stockton (silver mounted); Buck shot bag and powder horn.

From MRS. JOHN R. VOORHEES—Two tickets to the J. Wesley Jones' Pantoscope lectures; Obituary of J. Wesley Jones in the *Melrose Free Press*, December 22, 1905; Epaulets of Col. J. Wesley Jones.

From YONKERS STAMP CLUB—Invitation from the Mardi Gras Association, H. Schaffner, secretary, to C. J. Carpenter to serve on the honorary committee at the Mardi Gras celebration at Mechanics' Pavilion, February 17, 1885.

Meetings

At the luncheon meeting of March 11, 1948, Benjamin F. Gilbert opened the second quarter of the year by speaking before the Society on "Navies in the Pacific, 1861-65." That the Pacific was host during the Civil War to an array of vessels of differing flags is sometimes forgotten in the more customary notion that the Atlantic was alone involved. However, one look at any world history of the period will show that aside from the to-be-expected U. S. Pacific squadron and a Confederate cruiser or two, there couldn't fail to be work, real or imaginary, for ships of the chronically upset Europeans to do. As a matter of fact, four British vessels were at Victoria on Vancouver Island, handy to the mouth of the Columbia River; a Spanish fleet was in difficulties with Peru and Chile; somewhat indecisive maneuvers were taking place off Mexico; and on the Asiatic side of the Pacific a nautically minded Japanese prince—an anti-Occidentalist—and Chinese pirates anti-everything, were nosing in and out of the straits and bays. The visit of the Russian fleet to San Francisco in the fall of 1863 has been described by Mr. Gilbert in the March 1947 QUARTERLY; suffice to say here that the Russians were represented, too. In her counter-operations during this half-decade, the United States strengthened the Monroe Doc-

trine, the speaker said, and laid the foundations for her Pacific sea power.

Internally, back of the beaches along the American west coast, arose the hue and cry that go with civil wars. Rumors that Confederate privateers were out to intercept U. S. shipping led to organization of Union clubs and home guards, while Southern sympathizers banded together into Knights of the Golden Circle and Knights of the Columbian Star. Press and pulpit took sides (see Astles, on Reverend Scott, in this issue of the QUARTERLY)—all this in spite of the fact that the 1860 census showed only seven per cent of the people of the state with origins in the South.

To guard the population were some eight or nine vessels composing the Pacific fleet. It was commanded by Adm. Charles H. Bell *et al* on the three-year-old flagship *Lancaster*, of 2362 registered tons. Units of the fleet in the order of date-of-launching were the wooden sailing vessel *Cyane* (1837), which will be remembered as having furnished the flag raised over the Monterey Custom House on July 7, 1846; the sailing ship *St. Mary's* (1843), also of wood; the wooden side-wheeler *Saranac* (1848); and three vessels which dated from 1859, namely, the laurel-wooden *Saginaw*—a side-wheeler, carrying machinery built by Peter Donahue at the Union Iron Works in San Francisco; the sloop *Narragansett;* and the wooden screw-steamer *Wyoming*. Finally to be mentioned were two vessels—one built in 1862, the other in 1864—which boasted a new ingredient, iron, in their construction. They were the screw-steamer, single-turreted monitor *Passaic*, which had a hull made of wood and iron; and the *U.S.S. Wateree*, a side-wheeler, whose hull was wholly of iron.

In 1863 the *J. M. Chapman*, 90 tons and fast, became the nucleus of a real plot, an "affair." Its mission, concocted by Asbury Harpending and his collaborators, was to intercept gold shipments. It was not to be wondered that excitement on land ran high when the story came out, but the ship was captured in San Francisco harbor by the *Cyane* and the concocters went to prison. Mr. Gilbert then related how a fifth-columnist threat, with Acting-Master Thomas E. Hogg as instigator, came into being through *projected* transformation of certain "passengers" of the U. S. packet steamer *Salvador* into a crew of navy-trained men; when at sea, these men were to capture the ship and raise the Stars and Bars. The tables were turned completely in the winter of 1864, however, when a posse of U. S. sailors and marines, who had concealed themselves on board ahead of the plotters, performed the same trick in reverse. The result was that Hogg and his companions ended up in front of a military court in May 1865.

Most of the damage off the west coast was done by a lone Confederate raider in the North Pacific after the war had closed. Mr. Gilbert made the vessel's history vivid by limiting himself, in the short time possible at luncheon meetings, to those episodes in her career that moved the quickest. He related how a combination steam and sailing ship, launched originally

on the River Clyde as the *Sea King*, became the *Shenandoah*, which captured and burned whalers operating in the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean, and off Ascension Island, under her commander James Iredell Waddell and a blue print of destruction timed precisely as to season and place. In May 1865 she was in the Okhotsk Sea. She then proceeded to Bering Sea where, within a week, twenty-five whalers succumbed. But on the second of August of that year she spoke an English ship, the *Barracouta*, and heard that no longer did the Confederacy exist as a warring power; whereupon the *Shenandoah's* whale-chasing career closed, three months and twenty-three days after Lee's surrender at Appomattox. Re-christened *El Majidi* she went to the bottom some ten years later in a hurricane off the domain of her then-owner, the Sultan of Zanzibar. As to her captain—he spent his old age in pursuit of a far more stylish type of salt-water denizen, being placed in command of the Maryland oyster fleet, in which he continued until his death in 1886.

On April 8th Irene D. Paden, editor of the Society's most recent special publication, *The Journal of Madison Berryman Moorman*, and for fifteen years an enthusiastic but wary inch-by-inch follower (with her husband, William G. Paden) of the overland paths of the pioneers, told her audience why the journal interested her so much and consequently why it is important. Her listeners were admitted into some of the Padens' field-work secrets as they applied to the Moorman route along Hasting's Cut-off. The chief secret of this inquiring pair is probably that they never let themselves become discouraged, even if, as Mrs. Paden expresses it, "The nearer you get to a place on the trail, the less anyone knows about it."

Just as impressive as their out-of-door pursuit of facts is their work in libraries and private collections (some 62 manuscripts being consulted in this particular instance and 116 printed works). Scarcely less important is their thoroughness in running down rumors regarding the existence of a letter, or a report that someone recollects this or that as-yet incompletely substantiated point. Then come their interchange of techniques as between library work and work *in situ*, and the clarification of the latter by the former and vice-versa. To quote Mrs. Paden again: "We take the library research to the man who knows the country." The result is the gathering of a mass of geographic and other minutiae, corroborative (or otherwise), and in many cases adding to, those set down by the original diarist a hundred years or so ago. To a climatologist, or a zoologist, or a botanist, or an anthropologist, such side-by-side data constitute a feast. The end result from the point of view of the historian, interested in preserving human documents, is that he starts with one diary and ends up with two.

The Padens succeeded in establishing the Moorman route "clear through," as Mrs. Paden puts it, "to the regular overland trail near Elko." This means that, keeping south of Salt Lake, they crossed the Salt Desert, rounded the

southern end of the Ruby Range, then went northward through the canyon of the South Fork of the Humboldt. Here they (and the Moorman party before them) regained the established trail.

A limited number of copies of Moorman's journal is still on sale at the Society's headquarters, making it possible for those who were present at the luncheon to refresh their memory by perusing the actual record. One calls to mind especially Mrs. Paden's description of their work in getting at the facts behind an entry on August 6, 1850, which spoke of Whitten's Spring. Their experiences there may be found re-lived in her Note 134 on page 120.

Speaking before the Society at its May 13th luncheon meeting on the subject of the Philip Ashton Rollins Collection, Mrs. Hilda K. Wilgus, who has recently completed seventeen years as editorial assistant to Mr. Rollins, opened the eyes of at least some of her listeners to the surprising number of western-history treasures that were once housed in the family's residence at No. 28 East 78th Street, New York City. The collection is now the property of the Princeton University Library.

Mr. Rollins and his wife, Beulah Pack Rollins, devoted nearly a quarter of a century to searching out and acquiring source material on the development of white civilization on this side of the Missouri. Mr. Rollins' interest was practically indigenous, as its beginning was but five years later than his own. He was visiting his uncle's ranch in Wyoming in 1874, and for six months had as tutor the scout and mountain man, James Bridger; after that, young Rollins' summers continued to be spent on ranches, principally in Oregon and Texas.

Included in the collection are some 3000 items, covering the period from the Lewis and Clark explorations of 1804-06 to the final days of the open cattle range. They fall into the following general categories: reports of such early government expeditions as Zebulon Montgomery Pike's; the first printed narratives of fur traders—James Ohio Pattie and Zenas Leonard, for example, with items relating also to John Jacob Astor's enterprises; accounts of the missionary and Mormon movements; diaries and letters of the Oregon and California migrations, with maps and guides to the gold and silver regions; reports of railway explorations, and books on the growth of the cattle-range industry.

Particularizing, Mrs. Wilgus said that one of the many rarities is "A Map of Mexico, Louisiana and the Missouri Territory . . ." (Philadelphia, 1819), by John H. Robinson, M.D., a member of Pike's 1806 expedition into the country drained by the Red and Arkansas rivers. It might be termed the first comprehensive map of the West in spite of a few inaccuracies, such as the location of Pike's Peak.

Particularizing further, the speaker mentioned the overland diaries of

Wilson Price Hunt and Robert Stuart. In 1810 John Jacob Astor had sent out two expeditions to Oregon. The ship *Tonquin* (with Robert Stuart on board) arrived at the mouth of the Columbia River in March 1811; stragglers from the land expedition under Hunt did not drift into Astoria until January 1812. Some six months afterwards Stuart attempted the return by land via the South Pass—the first white man to traverse it—carrying dispatches to Astor in New York. Both Hunt and Stuart kept diaries. They were freely paraphrased by Washington Irving in his *Astoria* (Philadelphia, 1836), but the originals were lost sight of, and it was not until the late 1920's that the Stuart narratives (now in the William Robertson Coe Collection at Yale University) were obtained at auction, and later still that the Hunt diary was found by Mr. Rollins to have been printed as early as 1821 in a Paris periodical, *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*. With the publication of *The Discovery of the Oregon Trail*, the diaries of Stuart and Hunt, edited by Mr. Rollins and published by Scribner in 1935, the exact route of these Astorians, eventually known as the Oregon trail, was learned for the first time.

The migrations of the early 1840's to Oregon and California are represented in the collection by many guides and journals, some of which are: Overton Johnson and Wm. H. Winter's now rare *Route Across the Rocky Mountains* (Lafayette, Ind., 1846—emigration of 1843), T. H. Jefferson's *Map of the Emigrant Road . . . with Accompaniment* (New York, 1849)—one of two known complete copies, the other being in the Estelle Doheny Collection in Los Angeles; Riley Root's *Journal of Travels from St. Josephs to Oregon* (Galesburg, 1850), which is a rare 1848 record; and one more item that might be mentioned is J. S. Shepherd's *Journal of Travel Across the Plains* (Racine, 1851), an only known copy. There are also the Seaver letters giving information on conditions in California for twenty years beyond the time of actual crossing of the continent during the Gold Rush.

Ten years after the California excitement, the wagons again rumbled across the plains and again were the scenes of human misery and discouragement enacted. It was 1859 and the Pike's Peak Gold Rush was on. Included in the Rollins Collection are first editions of guidebooks such as Parker & Huyett, O. Allen, Byers & Kellom, Wm. B. Horner and Wm. B. Parsons. A diary of that period describes the disillusionment of the gold seekers who had expected another California but were discouraged by the necessity of expensive machinery for extracting the gold. The reaction was such that the return movement assumed the proportions of a mad stampede. Nevertheless they still had their humor and their banners, which no longer read "Pike's Peak or Bust," but "Busted—by gosh!"

Following these spurts of energy in crossing the continent came the gradual closing-in of many miles of no-man's land with mining settlements and cattle ranches in Idaho, Montana, Texas, and Wyoming. First-hand

accounts and reminiscences represent this era in the story of the West. The figurative end of the collection is a first edition of Asa S. Mercer's *Banditti of the Plains*, most copies of which had been impounded and destroyed because of its exposure of the Johnson County Raid or Rustler War in Wyoming in 1892.

To Mrs. Rollins was entrusted the task of compiling the catalogue of the collection. It took many years and was annotated by Mr. Rollins; and when it is printed it would be difficult to estimate too highly its importance to students of western history. The collection is so closely integrated and so shorn of unrelated though otherwise valuable material that, as Mrs. Wilgus said, it represents the almost complete story of westward expansion.

In Memoriam

Martin C. Madsen

In Berkeley on March 7, 1948, occurred the death of Martin C. Madsen. A review of his seventy-two years should begin with mention of two natural endowments, namely, a capacity for work and an incapacity for personal publicity, although his career as publicist, reporter, and political adviser called for just that kind of activity with respect to the "causes" he shouldered. Mr. Madsen was a graduate of the University of California and the Hastings College of the Law. After two years in Alaska, however, he turned not to the practice of law but to reporting for various newspapers. Among the causes he worked for as a journalist were the location of the 1915 world's fair in San Francisco instead of New Orleans, and the raising of funds adequate to finance a Lincoln memorial in Washington, D. C. While agitating for the latter he methodically called on senators and representatives, insisting that only the best architects should design the memorial and that nothing short of $3,000,000 was needed. Part of the strategy he used was to agree to publish short interviews from the members of Congress he visited, together with each one's favorite Lincoln story. When the interviewed could not think of a story, Madsen filled in with one he had obtained by his own research in the Congressional Library.

An important period in his career was devoted to reporting, under Chester Rowell of the Fresno *Republican*, the beginnings of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League and the campaign to place the prosecuting attorney, Hiram W. Johnson, in the governorship. When success came to these issues, and after much urging from friends, he abandoned journalism and joined Governor Johnson's secretarial staff. William D. Stephens succeeded to the office of governor in 1917, but Madsen continued at his former post where his talents had received the widest recognition. Before Governor Stephens' term ended,

Madsen retired to private life and took up the work of appraising bond issues, real estate, etc.

In a recent editorial (March 9, 1948) in the Stockton *Record* Mr. Madsen was called "a valiant and crusading spirit," and by many he will be so remembered. He is survived by his wife Nita Pratt Madsen, and a son, Alex P. Madsen.

New Members

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	Active	
Robert Beale	San Francisco	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
E. Harry Beltzig	Columbia, Mo.	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Mrs. H. Spens Black	Berkeley	Ralph H. Cross
Mrs. William C. Bray	Berkeley	Miss Helen Shafter
Miss Esto Bates Broughton	Modesto	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Mrs. Naglee Burk	Greenfield, Mass.	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Mrs. Henry Cartan	Menlo Park	Porter Sesnon
Robert G. Cleland	San Marino	Henry R. Wagner
Mrs. Ralph Coffey	Oakland	Mrs. Reginald Walker
Stanley M. Croonquist	Palo Alto	Resuming membership
John E. Dalton	Brentwood	Arthur C. Devlin
H. E. Dillinger	Placerville	Membership Committee
Donald J. Frick, Jr., M.D.	Los Angeles	John E. Grant
Irving D. Gibson	Sacramento	Hensley S. Davis
Leon Godchaux	Chicago	A. H. Greenly
Rex Hardy, Jr.	Los Angeles	Miss Ruth Teiser
William M. Irvine, Jr.	Salinas	Ralph H. Cross
Jay B. Jacobs	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Mrs. Clinton A. Jewett	Williams	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Walter P. Jones	Sacramento	Arthur C. Devlin
Mrs. Peter A. Kinnoch	Berkeley	Membership Committee
Leroy F. Krusi	Alameda	Membership Committee
Edward Leese	San Francisco	Anson S. Blake
George Leistner	Stockton	Raymond J. Wheeler
Bert Lynch	Venice, Calif.	Membership Committee
Miss Sally Mayock	Mission San Jose	Honor Award—Mills College
Miss Alta C. Nolan	San Francisco	Mrs. M. H. B. Boggs
Miss Helen P. Pardee	Oakland	Mrs. William Cavalier
Miss Madeline A. Pardee	Oakland	Mrs. William Cavalier
Mrs. H. W. Poett	San Mateo	Miss Emily C. Timlow
George G. Pollock	Sacramento	Membership Committee
Mrs. George G. Pollock	Sacramento	George G. Pollock
Mrs. Edward M. Shinkle	San Francisco	Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Charles A. Son	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Mrs. Robert A. Stewart	Berkeley	Membership Committee
E. M. Sundquist	Santa Ana	Membership Committee
Miss Katherine Towle	Berkeley	Membership Committee
J. W. Travers	Taft	Anson S. Blake

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Mrs. Donald Tresidder	Yosemite National Park	Continuing Dr. Tresidder's membership
James K. Tweedy	Downey	Membership Committee
Alexander von Hafften	Washington, D. C.	Membership Committee
Will B. Weston	Santa Clara	Membership Committee
Mrs. H. Allyn Wood	Berkeley	Membership Committee
Mrs. E. D. Woodruff	San Francisco	Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Charles G. Young	San Mateo	Membership Committee

Marginalia

A biographical note on Mrs. F. S. Whitwell (Gertrude Howard Whitwell) can be drawn by the reader from her account of W. D. M. Howard and his family.

As a resident herself of Lucerne Valley, San Bernardino County, Miss Martha Chickering's editing of her neighbor's recollections can be said to be free of artificial interest or of unfamiliarity with actual desert conditions. Miss Chickering holds a Ph.D. from the University of California, and in 1931, after experience as a social worker in this country and abroad, she became head of its graduate curriculum in social service. In 1939 she left the university to become director of the California State Department of Social Welfare. In this she continued until she retired in 1943 to her ranch in Lucerne Valley.

Rev. John B. Astles, who was born in Paris, Tennessee, on January 1, 1919, received his education at Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee, and at the San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California. He served in the navy in the last world war as assistant to the force and area chaplain aboard the heavy cruiser *U.S.S. Boston.* Since June 1947, Reverend Astles has been minister of the First Presbyterian Church at Gridley, California.

Readers of the QUARTERLY can refresh their memory of Abraham P. Nasatir's work in bringing to light French archival materials, by reference to the Notes appended to his present paper. He is a graduate of the University of California (Ph.D., 1926), and from 1928 has been on the teaching staff of the San Diego State College. At present Professor Nasatir is chairman of the college's department of history.

For a biographical note on Charles A. Barker, see this QUARTERLY for June 1945, p. 188; *ibid.*, September 1947, p. 284, for note on Milton H. Shutes, M.D.; and *ibid.*, March 1948, p. 92, for notes on Sandford Fleming and Marco Thorne; likewise *ibid.*, XXV (Dec. 1946), 379, for J. N. Bowman. Roy Hill is vice-president of the Pacific Coast Numismatic Society.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Mrs. Frank Bennett, listed among the new sustaining members in the March QUARTERLY, was Melba Berry, daughter of William Henry Berry and Alice Edna Bush Berry. Her mother was one of the daughters of Edward Bush and Mary Ellen Pedlar, whose father was Micah Pedlar. The latter arrived in Placerville from Wisconsin on September 9, 1850, returning to the east to bring his mother, Margaret Pedlar (Mrs. Bennett's great-great-grandmother) and his own immediate family back with him. Mrs. Bennett's paternal great-grandmother was Anna Coates, daughter of George I. Coates who settled in California in 1862, at first near Towle; while her grandfather, William Jackson Berry, reached Placerville the same year, and went from there to Mendocino County and elsewhere. He and his two sons—William Henry (Mrs. Bennett's father) and Clarence—did especially well in California. They recognized the value of Kern County for oil production and Fresno County (in particular the Selma area) for raising high-grade live stock. In 1895-98 they prospected for gold in Alaska with similar success. Mrs. Bennett's father also went into baseball-club ownership. In 1906 he bought the "Angels"; sold it in 1913-14; and followed this transaction by ownership of the "Seals," 1915-18. Mr. and Mrs. Bennett are graduates of Stanford University and proprietors of the Deep Well Ranch in Palm Springs. They have two children, Clarence Jesse and Deborah—the great-great-great California grandchildren of Margaret Pedlar.

Karl F. Brown of Los Angeles, listed in the March QUARTERLY, is associated with Floyd Nourse in the publishing firm of Brown & Nourse. Mr. Brown is the author of *California Missions; A Guide to the Historic Trails of the Padres* (New York, 1939), and did the research for a map showing historic stops in Southern California, which was published in 1946 by the Roads to Romance Association and printed by offset by the Times Mirror Co. in Los Angeles.

In an address reprinted in the *Huntington Library Quarterly* of August 1944, Robert Glass Cleland spoke of the living stream that has taken its way across this continent "till it flows in a vast flood at our very feet." Its ultimate destiny, he said, "confounds our boldest speculation." A glance at Market Street on Saturday afternoon, one might add, shows the nature of this "flood" in the San Francisco instance only. We're all in it—native, Kentuckian, Iowan; there is no such thing as aloofness. The cheering part is that it is a *mass* only in aggregation; that each unit is reachable and teachable; and that writers like Dr. Cleland are in it, too, but can stop for a moment and show us, as he has done, our *Cattle on a Thousand Hills*, *From Wilderness to Empire*, *California Pageant*, to mention some of his more recent works. For over thirty years Dr. Cleland was also teaching history at Occi-

dental University in Los Angeles. He is now a member of the permanent research staff at the Huntington Library.

Many of the forebears of John E. Dalton (b. Sacramento, 1902) came to the west coast early enough to be mentioned in H. H. Bancroft's "Pioneer Register," which includes California arrivals "to 1848." These forebears are the sons and daughters of Thomas Rhoads, a Kentuckian, who came in 1846; also Jared Sheldon (husband of Catherine Rhoads) who came in 1840 or possibly earlier. Two of Thomas Rhoads' sons, John B. and Daniel, were members of the Donner rescue party of 1846. (See Bancroft's *History of California*, San Francisco, 1884-90, V, 693 and 718.) Prominent in financial and farming circles in the Sacramento area was Mr. Dalton's grandfather, Dennis Dalton; and his father, Edward F. Dalton, was instrumental in the organization of the California Life Insurance Co., Sacramento, and of the Prune and Apricot Growers, San Jose. The Society's new member has, among other degrees, an M.A. from the Harvard School of Business Administration where he later taught (1928-35). While on leave from Harvard, he acted as chief of the sugar section, U. S. Department of Agriculture, thereafter becoming assistant to the president of the National Sugar Refining Co. of New York. At present Mr. Dalton is president of Dalton Farms, Inc., growers and shippers of vegetables.

Research workers are happy to acknowledge the assistance they receive when, from some deft suggestion made to them by a library assistant, they find a needed link. Miss Helen Harding (listed in March) is one of the members of the Bancroft Library staff to whom such thanks belong. She is a native Californian, a graduate of the University of California with the class of 1934, and has been at the Bancroft since 1943.

Rex Hardy, Jr., Stanford graduate (1937) and assistant to the vice president of Northrop Aircraft, Inc., Hawthorne, California, served as naval aviator in the last world war, returning in December 1945 to inactive duty in the naval reserve as a lieutenant commander. At Stanford Mr. Hardy did advanced work in California history under Prof. Eugene Robinson, and later was on the editorial staff of Time and Life magazines.

Mrs. Clinton Jewett writes us that her great uncle, Henry Dalton, was murdered by Indians on the Sacramento River "in the twenties." His brother, Alfred P. Dalton, came out several years later to look for him. The latter's son, Alfred P., Jr., Mrs. Jewett's grandfather, was born in California; and his wife, Hannah Newmark (daughter of Dr. Valentine Newmark), who was born in Benicia and attended Mills Young Ladies Institute, is still living. Dr. Newmark was in the first graduating class of the Toland Medical School in San Francisco. Of him, Mrs. Jewett's letter says: "He gained 'fame' by declaring Ralston dead. He just happened to be driving by."

[William C. Ralston, it will be remembered, died on August 27, 1875, from drowning.] Mr. Jewett's grandmother, Mrs. Anna Jones, a member of the Hamrick family of Calaveras and Amador counties, is now 96.

Walter Parker Jones (born Sacramento, 1894), for many years with the McClatchy Newspapers of California, has been editor of the organization since 1936. His experience in newspaper work dates from 1912 when he began a four-year period as reporter for the Sacramento *Star*. From the *Star* he went to the Marysville *Democrat and Appeal* for a year, and spent another as state capital correspondent for the Scripps papers of California. The next fifteen years (1919-34) he was with the Sacramento *Bee*, as political reporter, news editor and managing editor. Then followed his connection with McClatchy Newspapers.

In a refugee train leaving San Francisco six days after the earthquake of 1906 was Bert C. Lynch (born in Los Angeles, 1897), returning to his native city. In addition to nature's upheavals he has seen active service during both world wars, in the first in France as a machine gunner, and in the second as a photographic officer in the Marine Corps attached to marine aviation in the Pacific. In between the two wars he was with the motion picture industry as a photographer—Famous Players Lasky Corp., Cecil B. DeMille, Metro-Goldwyn Mayer. He returned to M.G.M. after the war, then moved to Eagle Lion Studios where he is at present. One might hazard the guess that Mr. Lynch, with the combined insight of the aviator and the photographer, understands the terrain of California beyond the power of most of us. He and his wife have built up "quite a library of Americana and Californiana."

Mr. and Mrs. Ernest L. Mathy, whose names appeared among the new members in the March QUARTERLY, have access to the diaries which Mrs. Mathy's grandfather, Royal Porter Putnam, kept on his journey from his birthplace in Covington, Pa., to New Orleans, where he visited his uncle's plantation before again taking up his way on March 21, 1858, toward the Pacific coast. He reached the Bella Union Hotel in Los Angeles on October fourteenth. On December 7, 1858, we find him in Visalia where another branch of Mrs. Mathy's family had arrived some six years before. In the early 1860's Putnam founded Porter(s)ville, and shortly afterwards (1864) returned east to marry Mary Jane Packard and bring her back with him to California. His holdings in the Porterville area included, besides large acreages of grain and grazing land, a retail enterprise (the Pioneer Store), and a granite quarry at Rocky Hill. Putnam died in Porterville on October 21, 1889, from pneumonia contracted in a storm while re-planting a tree that had been moved from his former to his newly finished home. Mrs. Mathy is the only child of Menna Kinkaid Putnam and William Porter Putnam, R. P. Putnam's first son, who was born in Porterville June 16, 1865, and died in

1921 (R.P.P.'s second son died in infancy, and the third, Frank, in San Jose in 1947). Mrs. Putnam is eighty-one. She is the daughter of James E. and Ellen Dillon Kinkaid. In the same wagon train (1852) with her parents, who were then nine and five years old, were Mrs. William P. Putnam's paternal grandparents, Charles L. and Elizabeth Abbot Kinkaid, and her maternal grandparents, Nathan Dillon and his wife Zilpha Van Leuven Dillon. They settled in Visalia where, as we saw above, Royal Porter Putnam came in December 1858. We are indebted for the above facts to Mr. Mathy's kind abridgment of Putnam's diaries and other family papers.

The mother of Mrs. Hans C. Nelson (listed in March) is Mrs. Margaret Louisa Axton Jones, a Pasadena lady of ninety-three. Mrs. Jones' mother, Mrs. Henry Axton, was Esther Sweasey, daughter of William J. Sweasey, who was born in 1804 in London. He became interested in improving the living conditions of those less fortunate than himself and in the late 1830's emigrated to Indiana whither his friend, Robert Owen, interested in the same question, had already looked over the ground. They invested in George Rapp's unsuccessful colony on the Wabash River, thinking that they, with their experience, could give it a rebirth. The community was known as "New Harmony." But upon the death of Mrs. Sweasey and the realization that his funds were running low, he decided to take his family overland, with ox teams and a drove of young cows, to California. They left Indiana on April 1, 1850, and arrived at Weaverville on October 5th. The stirring history of this Londoner's California fortunates includes: settlement on land in the Cañada Raimundo, along the west boundary of Las Pulgas Rancho; membership in the California Assembly of 1854; championship of the cause of "settlers" *vs.* large land holders and his determination to make his home beyond the limits of unfair restriction on land titles; his and his family's overland trip north in 1855 and their settlement in Eel River Valley; the building up of his interests in the Eureka retail trade, in shipping, lumber, and railroading; his participation in the constitutional convention of 1879; etc., etc. One might think that he would have worn himself out, but he died in 1893 at the age of eighty-nine. A manuscript written by his daughter Esther and describing their journey from London to Indiana and thence to California, and their life in the Eel River country, is in the possession of the Society's new member. Mrs. Nelson's husband, Hans C. Nelson, will be remembered as state senator from Humboldt County, 1921-33. She herself is a graduate of Mills College and a member of the board of governors of the alumnae association.

Miss Alta Nolan, a member of the San Francisco School Department, is a graduate of the University of California (M.A., history major, 1928). She has traveled in the Orient as well as in Europe, and during the last war she served as a program director in London for the American Red Cross.

Mrs. B. H. Risdon's son, David Mattison Risdon, is named for his great-grandfather, an early Oregon judge, who was born June 3, 1821, just 100 years and three days before the present holder of the name. Judge Risdon came to California across the Isthmus from New Hampshire. He was in Weaverville the latter part of 1850, then went further north to Eugene, Oregon. In the official records of Lane County, Mrs. Risdon (listed in the March QUARTERLY) found his name appearing first among the property holders of Eugene, as owner of land at Seventh and High streets.

James Carolan, grandfather of Miss Emily Carolan Timlow (listed in March), reached San Francisco in September 1849 via the Horn, with some twenty other young men on the bark *Ann Welch*. They took her up the Sacramento River and then went to the mines; but after two weeks of mining, young Carolan found that he was more interested in the merchandising side of the Gold Rush. He bought out his companions' share of the *Ann Welch's* supplies, including the hardware, and started business in Sacramento. From this rather limited beginning he expanded into wholesale hardware, ordering from New York. When his brother, P. Carolan, joined him, the firm, located at First and J streets, became known as J. & P. Carolan. On April 11, 1857, James Carolan married Emily Berger who had come west from Brooklyn via the Isthmus, and they built a house at Tenth and H streets. In 1875 the family moved from Sacramento to San Francisco where the business was carried on, on California street between Front and Davis, by James Carolan, his brother having died. Mr. and Mrs. James Carolan and their six children lived in their house at 1714 California Street in San Francisco until it was dynamited in April 1906 to help check the great fire. James Carolan died on July 23, 1912; his wife, on May 13, 1922. Their daughter Evelyn (Miss Timlow's mother) married William Ferree Timlow in 1896. He was a native of Pennsylvania, whose Huguenot ancestors, fleeing from France, had been given land by William Penn. For many years Miss Timlow and her parents lived in and near New York. She studied at Columbia University and holds an M.S. degree in nutrition. Since 1933 they have lived in San Francisco.

Miss Katherine Amelia Towle, a native of Towle, California, received her A.B. degree at the University of California in 1920, returning later for an M.A. From 1927 to 1932 she was with the Ransome-Bridges School, first as resident dean and then as headmistress. In 1932 she became assistant to the recorder of the faculties at the university, in which she continued until she joined the staff of the University Press as senior editor (1935-43). Since 1946 Miss Towle has been administrative assistant to the vice president and provost at the university. During World War II she rose to a colonelcy in the U. S. Marine Corps Women's Reserve, serving as director of the reserve from December 1945 to August 1946.

Alexander von Hafften, formerly of the agricultural and legislative departments of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, was recently appointed manager of the chamber's Washington office, where he will continue to be in touch with legislative affairs but on an obviously broader scale. Mr. von Hafften is a graduate (1939) of the Stanford Graduate School of Business Administration, and has lately been giving much of his trained knowledge to the affairs of the San Francisco Centennial Committee. Before joining the staff of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce in January 1947, he had been for more than three years with the California Chain Stores Association. This took him into the rural areas whose problems as they affected merchandising and credit, etc., it was his duty to bring into harmony with, or at least into an understanding of, those originating in the cities. This has a familiar ring to students of California; and Mr. von Hafften's observations, compared with, say, those of Henry George, should make a good historical paper.

William B. Weston (b. in Oakland, 1884) is an orchardist who has spent forty years near Santa Clara in the growing of pears of high quality. He is the son of Benjamin Frank Weston and Abbie May Bunker Weston, and graduated from the University of California in 1907. Mr. Weston is chairman of the Santa Clara County Planning Commission and president of the Pear Growers League, Inc.

A review of Mrs. Hilda K. Wilgus' address at the May luncheon-meeting appears elsewhere in this issue, but it emphasizes the biographies of pioneers, not that of the speaker. Mrs. Wilgus (listed among new members in March QUARTERLY) is a native of New York City, and has taken courses offered in librarianship and other subjects at the Rockefeller Foundation, the New York Public Library, and Columbia University. The breadth of her scholarship in connection with editing Mr. Rollins' books and compiling the subject index for the whole Rollins Collection is too apparent to need comment here.

Dr. Rockwell D. Hunt, director of the California History Foundation of the College of the Pacific, Stockton, has been requested to prepare the history of that college as a preliminary to its centennial celebration in 1951. He will be grateful to hear from anyone having letters, pictures, etc., pertaining to the subject or information where obscure source material may be found.

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ABRAHAM DUBOIS STARR IN 1875

Abraham Dubois Starr

Pioneer California Miller and Wheat Exporter

By W. A. Starr

ABRAHAM DUBOIS STARR was born in Greenfield, Huron County, Ohio, October 14, 1830. He was descended from Dr. Comfort Starr of Ashford, County of Kent, England, who landed in New England in 1635 with his family.

For several generations A. D. Starr's ancestors lived in Danbury, Connecticut, but when that town was burned by the British during the Revolution, his grandfather, Epenetus Starr, moved his family westward into New York State and thence to Greenfield, Ohio. Epenetus' son, Orange, took up farming in Greenfield, besides operating a small grist mill, and in due course married a Greenfield girl of French Huguenot descent, Mercy Dubois, one of whose sons was my uncle, Abraham Dubois Starr.

Starr attended school until his fifteenth year. He had an unusual aptitude for mechanics, which later became fully developed although he received no technical training. In the spring of 1849, both parents having died several years before, he set out for California at the age of eighteen with three other young men. Their outfit consisted of one ox team and a wagon. They made the trip across the plains without great difficulty and reached the east side of the Sierra at the Truckee River in September. Here they abandoned their wagon and proceeded with one ox to pack their outfit over the mountains, ending their journey at the placer diggings on the Feather River. The ox was set free in a mountain meadow because they could not bring themselves to kill it after its faithful service. Many years ago I read the diary Starr kept of his trip from Ohio to the mines. Among many other such irreplaceable records it was burned in the San Francisco fire of 1906.

Good diggings were found and when he had accumulated sufficient capital for the purpose, Starr joined a Mr. Barker in the business of supplying the mining camps along the river. He also was engaged in constructing a wing-dam on Poorman's Creek, to turn the course of the stream in preparation for mining the creek-bed the following summer. But 1850 was a year of deep snow in the mountains and the heavy run-off washed away the dam and with it his savings. During 1851 he was associated with a Mr. Hodges, a merchant on the South Fork of Feather River, and was in Sacramento most of the time as purchasing agent. The year 1852 found him in business with a Mr. Brown supplying the mining camps from Sacramento and Marysville by the use of wagons and pack trains. He was the first to succeed in reaching Downieville over the mountain route with wagons, and the event was marked by a lively celebration. When a boy, I heard

him tell of the difficulties encountered in freighting to the mining camps which were often located in rugged canyons; how he obtained feed for his stock by cutting wild hay in the mountain meadows, going over the summit to Sierra Valley for some of it; how cougars stampeded his stock from camp and plundering coyotes made it necessary to stand guard all night to protect the loads and packs of provisions.

Starr was very successful in supplying the camps on the American River, and in 1854 he started a general produce business in Sacramento. In 1856 he left these activities and went to Marysville where he married Mary Anna Teegarden (b. Mansfield, Ohio, Jan. 2, 1838), daughter of Dr. Eli and Deborah Anna (Carr) Teegarden, with whom, as a young girl of twelve, she had crossed the plains in 1850.

Flour was an important item in his supply business among the miners and Starr became interested, some three years before his marriage, in the Buckeye Mill at Marysville. It was completed by July 1853 through the efforts of Dr. Teegarden and William Foster,[1] the grinding stones and other machinery having been shipped around Cape Horn from New England. After his marriage Starr devoted himself to the development of the Buckeye. His name does not appear in the 1857 Marysville *Directory*, but in 1858 Teegarden & Company are listed as owners of the mill with Starr as proprietor. It states further (p. 100) that the Buckeye was operated by steam, with three run of stone. "His success," wrote George H. Morrison[2] of Bancroft's History Company, "and subsequent rise to the head of this industry was due to his clear headed business sagacity. Mr. Starr possesses an enviable record among the pioneer business men of California."

The Buckeye Mill (1853), the Sperry Mill built by Austin Sperry in Stockton one year earlier, and the much larger Starr Mills built at South Vallejo in 1869, all greatly encouraged wheat growing in California by providing both a domestic and export market for the early farmers of the central valley of the state. (Grinding stones from these three mills are now embedded in the walk leading to the Natural History Museum in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco.)

To quote the *History of Yuba County*:[3]

> Until 1853, the people of California imported flour from Chili [*sic*] and the East at a great expense. It was then supposed that wheat could not be successfully cultivated in this State. A few fields of barley had been raised in different localities, but the farmers, being unacquained with the requirements of agriculture in a country whose climate was so much at variance with that from which they came, were very timid about attempting the cultivation of grain on an extensive scale.

While at first the mills depended chiefly on imported wheat from Chile, "gradually," this author continues, "more and more was raised at home and discovered to be of superior quality, until finally there was enough not only to supply the mills here but to ship abroad."

The development of grain production to supply the mills can be visual-

ized from the following excerpt from the Marysville *Daily Herald* of April 19, 1856:

> Tracts of land before only used for grazing are now made to swarm with the golden harvest, and where a few years since hordes of cattle roamed at large, the eye now beholds an extensive prospect of grain fields, divided here and there by miles of substantial fences, with neat little cottages nestling among the trees, with all the evidence of thrift and prosperity. All this is to be seen too, in a country where in 1848 Colonel Freemont prophesied agriculture would never thrive.

Wheat production, mill building and flour manufacturing progressed steadily together. Nearly 100 flour mills (most of them small mills using water power) were operating in the state in 1860. Generally they served local communities and were short-lived when transportation made possible the competition of larger and more efficient mills, favorably located. Before 1861, Starr had apparently changed the name of the old company, as the Marysville *Directory* of that date lists the mill under A. D. Starr & Company.

Quoting again from the *History of Yuba County* (p. 70):

> The only one now [1879] left [in Marysville] is the Buckeye . . . this mill has continued in operation, steadily increasing its facilities and manufactures. In 1864, the structure was rebuilt, and the new building occupied a space of three hundred and twenty feet square at the corner of Yuba and Fifth streets, near the railroad depot. . . . In 1869, the capacity was two hundred barrels in twenty-four hours, now the production is from four hundred to four hundred and fifty barrels in the same time. . . . Connected with the mill are two warehouses with a storage capacity of about four thousand tons.

When Starr decided in the late 1860's to begin construction of a large mill at South Vallejo, he sold two-thirds of his interest in the Buckeye Mill: one-third to J. H. Bowman, and one-third to Justus Greeley who became president of the company and manager. After the great flood in 1875 he sold his remaining interest and thereafter the mill was operated under the name of Justus Greeley & Company. In 1892 the mill was taken over by the Sperry Flour Company. The plant burned down in 1901 and was rebuilt in 1902; by then its capacity had grown to 700 barrels per day.

A. D. Starr was active in the political as well as the industrial life of the state. He was a member of the board of aldermen of Marysville and was city treasurer for two years. In 1873 he was a delegate to the Republican convention in Philadelphia which nominated President Grant for reëlection. After moving to Vallejo, he was elected a supervisor of Solano County, but thereafter was not active in politics, as business required all his attention. Socially he was distinguished for his interest in works of public benefit and charity and was a man of "exceptional goodness of heart."[4]

A close friend of Leland Stanford, Starr naturally took an interest in the building of the railroads which were destined to expand wheat growing in the state by providing transportation to tidewater.[5] In 1868, being a director of the California Pacific Railroad Company, then in process of building a

road from Sacramento to Vallejo, he arranged with the company for a mill site at the latter place and commenced the erection of the Starr Mills mentioned above. At that time Vallejo was looked upon as the probable terminus of the transcontinental railroad, with boat connections to San Francisco, but later developments, as those familiar with the town's history will remember, changed this plan.[6] The buildings and docks of Starr Mills at South Vallejo were completed in 1869. Starting with a capacity of 200 barrels of flour a day, this was increased to 2,200 barrels, making the plant the largest on the Pacific coast.

Until 1871 A. D. Starr operated the Vallejo mill alone. He was then joined in the venture by a brother, Capt. Augustus W. Starr, who had served as an officer in the Northern army throughout the Civil War, and afterwards in the U. S. army in campaigns against hostile Indian tribes of the West until he retired to join his brother and become the mill manager. In 1875 A. Bannister was made a member of the firm, which then became known as Starr & Company.

A general review of the milling industry of the state (presumably in 1887) may be found in George Morrison's paper, cited above. He mentions the advanced type of milling machinery ("the most improved roller system known") in use in the state, the high quality of the flour, and gives the names of the most important mills together with their fields of export both domestic and foreign. In the southern part of California, he said that there were at the time "nearly twenty mills, which are well conducted, and whose flour is principally sold in the districts where the mills are situated." Continuing, Morrison says:

> The Starr flour is very highly regarded in the United Kingdom, particularly in Ireland, also in Central America, Tahiti, and is exported to almost every part of the world to which San Francisco sends her shipping. In addition, Starr & Co. also have a large share of the local trade and popularity....
>
> The mills of the State most famous for high quality of flour are Starr & Co.'s, the Golden Gate, and Sperry's, although many of the others very nearly approach them. The Starr Mills particularly, possess machinery and processes, invented and introduced by Mr. A. D. Starr, the founder of the house, which are not used in any other mills. They pay great attention to the exportation of high grade flour to Europe in entire cargoes by iron ships. So successful have they been in this, that the brand's reputation in Europe commands a high premium, while the damage to flour by sea voyage has been reduced to almost nothing, certainly not exceeding one-eighth of one percent. during the nearly twenty years that their flour has been shipped.

As railroads were built to tidewater from the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, wheat growing expanded rapidly and wheat exporting became an important part of the commerce of the state. In 1877 the Central Pacific Railroad (now part of the Southern Pacific system) was extended from Martinez to Oakland via Carquinez Strait, along which large grain warehouses and docks were erected to receive wheat from the great central

The Wheatport grain warehouse and flour mill of
Starr & Co. in 1887

valleys of California. With the railroad along the south side and deep water close to shore, Carquinez Strait was an ideal location to receive the grain and reload it for export on seagoing ships. Deliveries were made not only by rail but also by heavily laden flat-bottomed sternwheel steamers towing huge barges from navigable up-river landings. In 1880 the strait began to replace San Francisco and Oakland as wheat-exporting terminals. By 1884 the wheat warehouses and docks extended along Carquinez Strait from above Port Costa to below Crockett, a distance of several miles. At that time nearly one-half of all the ships clearing for foreign ports from San Francisco Bay had been loaded with wheat on Carquinez Strait destined for ports in England, Europe and our Atlantic seaboard via Cape Horn, and across the Pacific to the Orient.

In 1883 Starr & Company was incorporated. A. D. Starr became president; A. Bannister, vice-president and manager; Capt. A. W. Starr, mill superintendent; H. M. A. Miller, secretary. Other directors were ex-Gov. George C. Perkins, Dr. Samuel Merritt, George W. Prescott, and Justus Greeley. The main office was in San Francisco at 16 California Street. My father, William M. Starr, a much younger brother who had come to California in 1863 to complete his education at the College of California in Oakland, was the manager of the mill's distributing center in San Francisco at the Occidental Warehouse, located next to the Pacific Mail dock at the foot of Townsend Street.[7]

Starr Mills had been profitable and A. D. Starr decided the time had come to expand the wheat-exporting business and flour milling. New capital came into the company and construction was promptly begun on a grain warehouse and flour mill on Carquinez Strait at a location he named Wheatport (now part of Crockett).[8] The grain warehouse and cleaning plant was completed in 1884. It had a capacity of 150,000 tons of grain with docks capable of accommodating as many as six ships for loading. Whole train loads could be unloaded, and if necessary the wheat cleaned and graded, with quick dispatch on two floor-levels of tracks, extending the length of the warehouse.

The flour mill, a brick structure, was built more leisurely. It was to have a capacity of 8,000 barrels a day, and was thus to become the largest mill in the world. Foundations were concrete arches resting on bedrock, said to be the first time a concrete foundation was successfully placed in underwater construction. This work was accomplished by Ernest L. Ransome of Oakland, who became famous for his engineering of concrete structures.[9] The mill building was not finally equipped for milling wheat until 1891; but its large capacity was destined never to be used for that purpose.

As a boy I was often taken to Wheatport by my uncle, "A. D.," as he was known to his friends. He made the trip almost daily from Oakland. Sometimes we crossed the strait at noon to the South Vallejo mill in a small sail boat, kept and manned for that purpose, returning to Oakland via the

ferry to Vallejo Junction where we met the evening train. I saw the Wheatport plant built up, and later I was sometimes given a marker's job, running alongside the hand trucks to stencil a mark on each bag of wheat as the men trucked them over the scales, five to a load, and on to the chute at the ship's side, down which they slid into the hold. Here bare-footed men received the bags, weighing about 140 lbs., and carried them on their backs to the spot where they were stowed away. To wear shoes would have cut the bags as the men tramped over layer after layer in filling the hold. When a bag jumped over the chute it was the duty of the man on top to warn the men below. But I frequently noticed that the call "look out below" came after rather than before the dull thud made by the bag of wheat as it landed. Trucking and stowing away the bags was hard work, but the men moved fast. For their refreshment a bucket of lager beer was placed behind the scales and in the hold from time to time, one of the gang being assigned to carry the bucket to and from the nearest saloon, of which there were many along the tracks. Loading wheat cargoes was rugged work in those days. California grain was not handled in bulk by mechanical means. It moved from harvest fields to ships in bags. The shifting of loose bulk wheat in the hold of sailing ships, on the long rough voyage around Cape Horn, was likely to capsize them. The voyages took from 100 to 260 days, depending largely on the winds they met.

Many of the ships of this time were "clippers," built with hulls like a yacht for speed and with high masts carrying a great spread of canvas for their size. Tugs towed them in and out of port and to and from their loading docks. As the clippers approached or left the Golden Gate under full sail during the active wheat-shipping season in the fall of the year, the sight was unforgettably beautiful.

It is interesting to know that the most modern methods and implements for that time were used by California wheat farmers. Morrison, in noting this fact, cites A. Bannister, vice-president of Starr & Company from 1883 to 1893, who was personally acquainted with conditions in Europe through residence, as agent of the company, in Liverpool, 1877-79.[10] "He has found," says Morrison, "that as a wheat-raising state California can compete with any part of the globe, both as regards quantity and quality. The finest agricultural implements are used, and wheat raising has been reduced almost to an exact science." Bannister is further cited as saying he is convinced,

> ...after a thorough examination of the subject, that on farms of 20,000 [*sic*] acres and upwards, wheat of high quality can be raised, harvested and delivered to shipping point on the Bay of San Francisco, at a cost of not over 75 cents per cental of 100 pounds. On smaller farms the cost would be increased to 90 cents and up to $1 per cental. When in conjunction with this are taken the ocean freights from California to Europe to-day (24 shillings per long ton of 2240 pounds) it will be seen that California wheat can be laid down in European ports at an expense not exceeding 5 shillings per cental. The relative conditions in California and in Europe can also be seen from the following comparison. Good wheat land can be purchased in some parts of California for $25

per acre, and the taxes paid by the farmer do not exceed 25 cents per acre per annum; while the English farmer pays a yearly rental of $20 to $25, and his tithes and taxes amount to $6 to $8; so that it is not surprising, in view of these facts, that wheat production in California flourishes, while in the United Kingdom it languishes and wanes.

From 1877 until 1897 was indeed the great era of wheat for California. Incidentally, that 20-year period was without a serious drouth. It was a wet cycle, with average rainfall in San Francisco of about 25 inches.[11] Annual production averaged nearly 40 million bushels. In the banner years of 1884 and 1886 production was close to 45 million bushels, over 1,500,000 tons, of which about 1,000,000 tons was exported. Carquinez Strait was constantly lined with ships loading at the long warehouses and docks of the following firms:

Nevada Warehouse and Dock Company, located between Port Costa and Martinez, operated for various exporters by John Rosenfeld's Sons Company; Port Costa Warehouse and Dock Company, operated by G. W. McNear & Company; California Wharf and Warehouse Company, located one-half mile west of Port Costa, operated by Balfour, Guthrie & Company of England; Grangers Warehouse at Eckley, operated by farmers' granges; Eppinger & Company at Crockett; Starr & Company at Wheatport, just west of Crockett.

Today the only one of these warehouses being used for grain is that part of Grangers Warehouse saved from the ravages of teredos. Excepting the plants of Starr & Company, and Eppinger, all the others have burned down.

In 1893 came the financial panic which started the great depression of the 'nineties, lasting almost until the end of the century. The situation was described as follows by John Boggs, president of the state board of agriculture, in his report for 1893 to Gov. H. H. Markham:[12]

Wheat was good for nothing this season; not good security for the sacks that held it. This great commodity reached the lowest average price ever before recorded in the history of the United States....

This state of affairs was the natural result of the continued depression in Europe, and the financial condition of our own country at the time of harvest. The scare of foreign holders of American securities caused them to force realization at once, thereby depleting America of a vast amount of surplus gold, an occurrence most important to the agricultural interests at that particular period, and resulted in demoralization and disaster throughout the land.

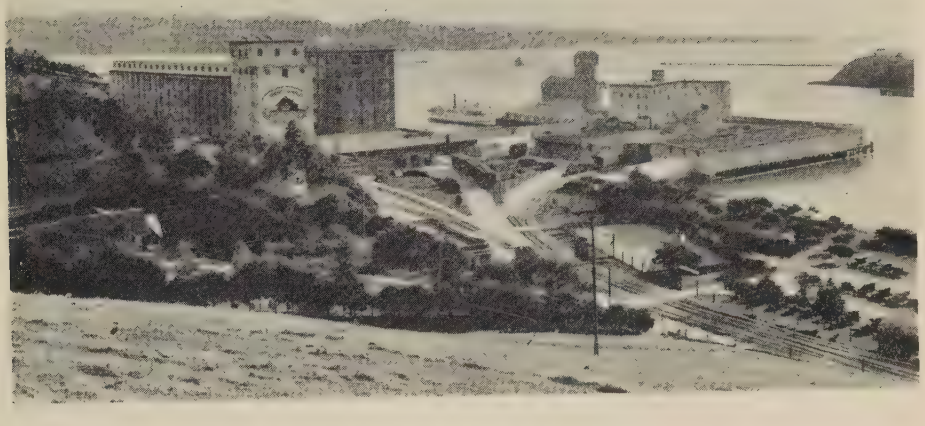
Starr & Company had sold many cargoes of wheat to British buyers in the Liverpool market which were afloat on the Pacific on their way to Cape Horn. The year proved to be as abnormal in its weather as it did in financial affairs, a circumstance which would not have caused such havoc had not the contracts of sale of the wheat contained a time clause which should not have been there. The ships were becalmed for a long time and when they did reach Liverpool the time allowance on most of the contracts had expired. Wheat had declined in price to about one-half of what the market was at the time the sales were made, and the British buyers refused to accept delivery of the grain. The resulting great loss meant bankruptcy for Starr & Company. A. D. Starr died at the home of his brother, William M. Starr,

in Oakland, on December 24, 1894.[13] The following year the South Vallejo mill and the Wheatport plant were acquired by the wheat-exporting firm of G. W. McNear & Company.

During the years of large wheat production the Merchants Exchange in San Francisco was second only to the Chicago Board of Trade as a wheat market. On the call board of the exchange thousands of tons were traded daily for future delivery in 100-ton lots. I can remember when the shouting in the "wheat pit," located at the corner of California and Leidesdorff streets, could be heard a block away. In 1894 an ambitious attempt was made to corner the wheat market. As usual, the attempt failed. When the collapse came, Wheatport, like other terminals, had thousands of tons in storage which had been delivered to the speculators on their purchase contracts. McNear saw the opportunity and acted upon it, buying the wheat which was being liquidated at low prices and acquiring the Wheatport plant and the South Vallejo Mill of Starr & Company, which was then in process of liquidation, thus providing a good market for the wheat by grinding it into flour for export.

But the great days of wheat growing in California and its export to foreign markets were rapidly coming to an end due to low prices, competition from other wheat growing states, curtailment by diversified farming, the successful growing of orchard crops, loss of soil fertility, and the increase in local consumption. By 1894 production was down to 23,000,000 bushels and for the next few years averaged about 30,000,000 bushels. After the turn of the century California became an importer of wheat and flour, and grain-growing farmers turned largely to barley, which thrives on less fertile soil than does wheat. In 1897 McNear sold the Wheatport plant to a group of California and Hawaiian business men, including members of his family. The organization, under the name of California Beet Sugar and Refining Company, converted the flour mill into a sugar refinery. It started operation in 1898 and functioned intermittently for about six years. In 1899 the name of the company was changed to California and Hawaiian Sugar Refining Company. In 1903 the plant shut down and remained closed until purchased in 1905 by Sugar Factors Company, Ltd., of Honolulu. The mill was converted into a strictly cane sugar refinery and resumed operations in 1906. Under the name of the California and Hawaiian Sugar Refining Corporation, Ltd., owned by 33 producing sugar plantations in the Hawaiian Islands, the plant has continued in successful operation since that date as one of the most important industries of the Pacific coast. George M. Rolph of San Francisco, a brother of the late Gov. James Rolph, was largely responsible for the successful organizing and operation of the company.

The South Vallejo Mill was operated by G. W. McNear until 1910, when it was acquired by the Sperry Flour Company. Seward B. McNear, a son of G. W. McNear, became president of the company in 1913. The last cargo of flour to be shipped from the mill on a sailing ship was loaded on



South Vallejo plant of Sperry Division, General Mills;
Starr Mills, built in 1869, on right.

Wheatport (Crockett) plant of Starr & Co., converted into sugar
warehouse and refinery of the California-Hawaiian Sugar
Refining Corp., Ltd. (present-day view).

the *Andrew Welch* in 1916 during the World War, carrying 2,000 tons to Belgium for Herbert Hoover's Belgian Relief Committee. The flour bags were marked with a special "American Indian" brand and many of them came back as pillow slips beautifully embroidered by Belgian women to express their appreciation and gratitude.

In 1917 large additions were made to the plant, including grain storage elevators. Three thousand barrels per day were added to the capacity of the mill. This was done for an immediate purpose.

The 1917 wheat crop of the United States was a partial failure and food supply became a serious problem in fighting the war. The U. S. Food Administration was organized and administered by Herbert Hoover to conserve food and direct its distribution. Australia had piled up the surplus of three wheat crops since the start of the war in 1914, because it could not be exported due to shortage of ships and the submarine menace. France had a fleet of sailing ships lingering in the Pacific to escape submarines. The U. S. Grain Corporation and the Milling Division, both divisions of the U. S. Food Administration, who controlled marketing and milling of the nation's wheat crop, arranged to buy some of this Australian wheat, ship it to California in the French sailing ships and mill it into flour.* As new steamers were launched in our shipyards, they were given a cargo of flour and sent on their way through the Panama Canal to help feed our army and our allies in Europe. Although an importing state, California by this means furnished almost ten per cent of the flour exported from the United States in 1918, thereby providing the margin which helped to save the situation. The expanded South Vallejo Mill contributed greatly to this accomplishment.

Since 1925 the enlarged plant has been operated by the Sperry Division of General Mills.[14]

Thus for more than fifty years since his death, the industrial plants created by the courageous young pioneer, Abraham Dubois Starr, who found opportunity in California and had faith in its future, continue to perform a useful service in the industrial life of the state.

*Mr. Starr has modestly omitted to say that he was the executive in charge of the Grain Corporation for California at that time, while Seward B. McNear headed the Milling Division. [Ed.]

NOTES

1. *History of Yuba County* (Oakland, 1879), pp. 69-70.

2. See George H. Morrison, "Data Regarding the Great Flour Milling Industry of California" (handwritten manuscript in Bancroft Library). The article is undated, but was presumably written after 1887 when he is first listed in the San Francisco *Directory* as a member of Bancroft's History Company. A sketch of Morrison's life is given in the final chapter of Bancroft's *Literary Industries* (San Francisco, 1890). In the 1890 San Francisco *Directory* he is listed as secretary of the History Company, succeeding W. H. Hartwell, who appears as assistant-secretary and treasurer.

3. *History of Yuba County, op. cit.*, p. 69.

4. San Francisco *Chronicle*, Dec. 25, 1894.

5. See Bancroft's *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), VII, 581 ff, for account of changes in the name of this railroad (viz., Marysville & Benicia R. R. Co., San Francisco & Marysville R. R. Co., and California Pacific R. R. Co.) and list of directors serving with Starr. Complete control of the California Pacific was obtained by the Central Pacific in 1876. John B. Frisbie, Gen. M. G. Vallejo's son-in-law, was vice-president at the time Starr was on the board of the California Pacific. Frisbie will be remembered as an early operator in wheat (see his "Reminiscences," manuscript in Bancroft Library, pp. 37-38; also Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 750).

6. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 685-86, says that in 1871, on the strength of its natural advantages, the town had reached the third position in the state. Other than natural factors, described by Bancroft, entered, to the benefit of Oakland rather than Vallejo.

7. William M. Starr worked in the office of the Buckeye Mill after leaving school and moved to Vallejo for similar employment at the latter plant in 1869. He became proprietor and manager of the Occidental Warehouse in 1877, having moved his family to San Francisco, and was a stockholder in Starr & Co. He continued to operate the warehouse for grain and flour until 1902, when his son, the author of this paper, took over the management. W. M. Starr died at Riverside, California, April 14, 1924.

8. Paul N. Woolf, "An Historical Appraisal of the Flour Milling Industry in California" (manuscript in Bancroft Library, 1902), Chap. II, p. 23, discusses briefly the two names, Wheatport and Crockett.

9. See Allen L. Chickering, "In Memoriam, Bernard Ransome, 1873-1946" (this QUARTERLY, XXV, June 1946, 187), for note on the engineering accomplishments of Ernest L. Ransome and his descendants.

10. San Francisco *Directory*, 1877-78, 1879. In 1880 he is listed as again residing in California.

11. T. C. Friedlander, "Wheat, Flour and Barley," *Trans. Calif. State Agr. Soc., year 1890* (Sacramento, 1891), pp. 221 ff, describes the excessive rainfall of 1889-90, which interfered with plowing and seeding to such an extent that drastic reduction in wheat acreage occurred for that year.

12. John Boggs' report is given in *Trans. Calif. State Agr. Soc. year 1893* (Sacramento, 1894); see especially pp. 11-15, for discussion of wheat. On p. 138, Friedlander says that the year 1893 "... left a record for the lowest figures at which wheat has ever sold, not only in California but throughout the civilized world, during the past forty years...."

13. Abraham Dubois and Mary Anna (Teegarden) Starr had one child, Ada Deborah, born Feb. 14, 1861, in Marysville. The family moved to Vallejo in 1868 and to Oakland in 1879. During the 1880's Mrs. Starr and her daughter traveled extensively in Europe and Egypt, where Ada Starr met and married Judge Bachgrevinck, Danish minister to Alexandria, Egypt. She never returned to America. In 1889 while returning from a visit to her daughter, Mrs. Starr, who had been subject to fainting spells, fell over a balustrade in a Liverpool hotel and struck her head on a marble floor, resulting in damage to her reason. She remained until her death in a Liverpool hospital. Thus left alone, A. D. Starr disposed of his home at 17th and Grove streets, Oakland, and lived thereafter at the Oakland home of his brother, W. M. Starr.

14. Woolf, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV, 11 ff, gives a list of the mills in the Sperry system in 1894, quoting the San Francisco *Chronicle* of Aug. 30, 1894.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT: The author's thanks are extended to Mr. Ralph Carmichael of the Central Bank, Marysville, for checking certain Marysville sources.

The Second Incumbency of Jacques A. Moerenhout

Translated and edited

By A. P. Nasatir

(Continued)

XI[25]

Moerenhout to Minister[26]

Monterey, December 15, 1853.

Monsieur le Ministre:

In my last despatch . . . the duplicate of which I have had the honor of sending you, I announced that a band of armed men had embarked at San Francisco, and other ports in this country to go to Guaymas, and invade Sonora.[27] Your Excellency will have been informed either by the newspapers of this country or [by] the correspondence of Mr. Dillon,[28] that these filibusters, instead of attacking Guaymas and Sonora, considered it more prudent to go first to Lower California, where they disembarked near Cape St. Lucas, and at La Paz. In the latter port they descended in sufficient force to take possession of the place, make the governor a prisoner, lower the Mexican flag and hoist a new flag, proclaiming Lower California a republic and independent.[29] The new flag is similar to the flag of Tahiti, that is to say, it has two red lines and a white line in the middle, but it has in addition two stars in the center which represent, by anticipation, the republics of Lower California and Sonora.

After having left La Paz where they killed ten or twelve of the peaceful inhabitants, they believed it prudent to leave the gulf, again take to the sea and return to the north as far as the port of Ensenada on the Pacific. This port is situated near the frontier of Upper California, sixty or seventy miles from San Diego. From this latter port, Ensenada, they sent the news of their enterprise, of their exploits and of their success to San Diego.

When the news was received of the taking of La Paz and the creation of a new republic, of the nomination of President Walker, etc., there were several days of excitement in the entire country from San Francisco *au Nord*.[30] This has been explained with difficulty, for how can one suppose that the entire population [which is] American, could approve of such acts and consider the aggressions of a band of pirates as important deeds which promise results as advantageous as glorious for the people of the United States [?] What is certain, at least, Monsieur le Ministre, is that the people in general as well as nearly all of the inhabitants of the Southern States where slavery still exists, seem to be in favor of the enterprise and seemed not to doubt its ultimate success. Consequently, many companies acting

within these principles were immediately formed at San Francisco,[31] at Sacramento, at Marysville, etc., and when they received the news that Walker's band had had an engagement with the Mexicans of a post near the frontier, and that they had lost ten or twelve men, three hundred men immediately embarked in two boats, a *barque* and a *goëlette*, well provided with arms and munitions, and with provisions for three months. According to what is said, they were to go to the port of Ensenada, and from there to Guaymas.

What is also remarkable in these strange events is the slight reproach that seems to be attached to these acts and the apparent indifference of the American authorities to this matter. For several days they publicly enlisted at San Francisco for the expedition against Lower California and Sonora, and during the night of the twelfth and thirteenth, two hundred and fifty armed men embarked on the bark *Anita* at the port of San Francisco and received several loads of ammunition, two cannons, pistols, sabres, and other arms, without being molested and without the slightest opposition on the part of the authorities or the government. Conducted out of the port by a steamer, they left the dock to the cry of "Long Live President Walker, Sonora and Lower California."

But despite this enthusiasm, and despite the fact that these expeditions would probably be followed by others even more considerable (for it seemed that even money would not be lacking), it is doubtful nevertheless, that left alone and abandoned to their own resources, they would be able to succeed, especially if the present Chief of Mexico took the firm determination to protect and defend these important provinces, their ports and the gulf still more important (and send forces) there. Less than one thousand good troops might easily stop the progress of all this movement and destroy within a short time these poorly organized and poorly commanded bands, whose principal objects are robbery and pillage. But the question is, will they be left to themselves and to their own resources, and will not the United States, which covets these provinces,[32] their ports and the gulf, and which fears, perhaps, that they will fall into the power of some other maritime power, support them, at least indirectly.

Without answering this question, I shall take the liberty to observe again to Your Excellency that, according to the reports of the engineers, it seems that the projected great railroad will pass through Mexican territory to the south of the Gila river, and in all probability will extend to the port of Guaymas.[33] I have obtained information concerning this from some people who know perfectly these districts, and [who] have made the trip from California to Mexico via land several times; [and] they all assure me that the only difficulties which are presented in the execution of this road as far as California are the deserts of sand and the high mountains which separate the latter country from all the eastern countries [states]; difficulties

which can be avoided by going from the Gila River, via the Sonora as far as Guaymas. In following these much easier routes, water and pasturage for the animals are found everywhere. Here is the route that they follow, and which should also be the route of the railroad if it is ever built.

From the mouth of the Gila River to the

Penada halta [*sic*]	18 leagues
from the Pinada Halta to las playitas	25 leagues
from las playitas to Salado	20 leagues
from La Salado to San Domingo	4 leagues
from San Domingo to Porte Zuelo	3 leagues
from Porte Zuelo to Quito Bac	2 leagues
from Quito Bac to Soni	20 leagues
from Soni to Presidio of Altar	22 leagues
from Altar to Alamita	9 leagues
from Alamita to Las Cruces	12 leagues
from Las Cruces to Poso	15 leagues
from Poso to Noria del Verde	8 leagues
from Noria del Verde to San Huanico	6 leagues
from Huanico to Hermosillo	7 leagues
from Hermosillo to Guaymas	40 leagues

According to report only the first stations for sixty or seventy leagues along this entire route offer any difficulties concerning water and nourishment for the animals. But by leaving the banks of the Gila farther to the east, and turning from there directly to the City of Altar the barren parts of the country are avoided, and in no part does this route offer serious obstacles. Even today in the natural state of the roads, one can go by carriage with great facility from the town of Altar to Hermosillo. And it seems that from dale to dale, the entire road from the Gila River to Guaymas would only require a little work of leveling in order to establish the railroad there, [to that Place].

I have the honor of being,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

J. A. Moerenhout
Consul of France

Addressed:
A Son Excellence
Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères à Paris

XII[34]

Moerenhout to Minister[35]

Monterey, January 31, 1854

Monsieur le Ministre:

We have just received here the unofficial news that Mexico has sold Lower California, Sonora and a part of Sinaloa and Chihuahua, to the United States for the sum of 23,500,000 piastres.[36]

Since then, we have also had some information concerning the situation and the acts of the filibusters in Lower California. They are still at Ensenada which they have named Fort McKibben. At that place their leader,

Walker, who is called [qualifié] President, published four new decrees[37] dated Ft. McKibben, January 18, 1854. In the first, he gives the information that the decrees previously published by the Republic of Lower California would again be published by the Republic of Sonora.

In the second, he decreed the Republic of Sonora divided into two states, the state of Sonora and that of Lower California. The former includes all the country beginning at the bridge of [a point on] the Colorado River, in the center of the current opposite its mouth, and continuing thus in the middle of the river, between its two banks, as far as the boundary line which separates the United States and Mexico, conforming to the stipulations of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; from there this line continuing to the Sierra de los Miembres and from that point following the summit of the Sierra to the source of the Fuerte River, and then descending the middle of the said river to its mouth.

The state of Lower California includes all of its territory to the south of the boundary line between the United States and Mexico as established in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and situated to the west of the Colorado River and the Gulf of California.

All the Islands of the Gulf of California situated opposite the coast of the state of Sonora or of Lower California will belong to the one or the other of these states, according as to whether they will be found situated nearer the coasts of the one or the other.

In the third, he announces that in the future all the decrees, laws or acts, will be published in the name of the Republic of Sonora.

In the fourth, he announces that Sonora, which was declared a department by the President of Mexico, is declared to form a part of the Republic of Lower California.

The corvette *Portsmouth*[38] is leaving for Lower California. It has on board the officer Negrette who commanded the post of San Tomas, in Lower California, and who, driven out by the filibusters, preferred, as I have had the honor of saying in my despatch number thirteen, to come here instead of going to La Paz. The *Portsmouth* is the same corvette which, at the end of 1845, or at the beginning of 1846, weighed anchor in the Bay of San Francisco and openly gave assistance and protection to the armed band which at that time had invaded this country and who, in the same manner as the filibusters, hoisted the bear flag and declared California independent.

I have the honor of being with the most profound respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

J. A. Moerenhout

Addressed:
A Son Excellence
Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères à Paris

XIII[39]

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER[40]

Monterey,[41] May 16, 1854

Monsieur le Ministre:

Upon my return to San Francisco where I had left my ill daughter, Mr. Dillon himself told me that they had again just issued a mandate against him to make him appear before the district court, accused by General Wool of complicity with the Mexican consul, Mr. Del Valle, in the matter of the enlistment of Frenchmen in the service of Mexico.[42]

Mr. Dillon appeared to me strongly opposed to the perseverance with which they have persecuted him, but firm and confident in his rights. He was calm, and did not appear to have the least doubt, in the same manner as in the first prosecution directed against him, [that] he would come out justified and triumphant in this affair.

One thing is certain at least, Monsieur le Ministre, and that is that not only the French and the Europeans but a great many Americans see with displeasure the renewal of these vexations and provoking measures against the representative of a friendly nation, and one towards which most of the Americans like to profess sentiments of gratitude. Many seem indignant against General Wool, in this affair, who appears to be animated with a desire of personal vengeance, or dominated by the desire of acquiring a renown even at the expense of the good understanding between the two nations, which flatters his self-esteem and the results of which he hopes will be favorable to his interests and his ambition.

Mr. Dillon had thought he would stay within the strict limits of his rights, without deigning either to respond or to defend himself against these unworthy accusations, but believing that this conduct would be wrongly interpreted by those who started this prosecution or by the misinformed public, he has decided at last to take a lawyer to defend him in order to set forth better the injustice and the absurdity of the persecutions directed against him by General Wool and his adherents.

Hoping to be able to return in a few days to Monterey with my child, I shall [then] have the honor of addressing to Your Excellency a report on the movement and the commerce of the ports of Monterey and of Santa Cruz and concerning the agricultural state of the surrounding country.

I have the honor of being with the deepest respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

J. A. Moerenhout
Consul of France

Addressed:
A Son Excellence
Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères à Paris

XIV[43]

Moerenhout to Minister of Foreign Affairs[44]

Monsieur le Ministre: Monterey, September 15, 1855

I have received the circular marked Direction Politique, that Your Excellency did me the honor of addressing to me under date of the twenty-fourth of June, last.

Arrival at Monterey of the Corvettes de Guerre L'Artemise and L'Amphitrite. The tenth of this month, about nine o'clock in the evening, the French corvette *Artemise* and the English corvette *Amphritite*, came to anchor in the port of Monterey.

The inhabitants, wishing to celebrate the visit of these vessels with a festival, assembled on the twelfth, in order to give a ball and a banquet to which the commanders and the officers of the two boats were invited. At this improvised ball, all the principal families of Monterey were present, as many Americans as Californians and French.

The thirteenth, the corvettes again put to sea in order to return to San Francisco. Just before leaving port there occurred an incident of slight importance but which, under the present circumstances, ought to be reported to Your Excellency.

Having gone on board the *Artemise* I was saluted with seven guns. Upon my return to land soon after, the American fort hoisted the French flag and gave a salute of the same number of guns. During the day Monsieur le Commandant of the fort, who probably had taken the corvette's cannon shots for a salute made to the fort, came to see me, [and] to tell me that the salute of the fort had been made in my honor.

Disarmament of the Fort of Monterey. The fort of Monterey has been disarmed in part. There were no more than ten pieces of twenty-four, the other ten having been transported to San Francisco. The powder, which has been here for five or six years, deposited under a wooden shed, could serve for no other purpose than for that of saluting. It is going to be transported to Benicia and only the projectiles, the cannon balls, bullets and small shells will remain here.

Agitation of the Country Because of the Election. The Know Nothings.[45] For the past six weeks there has been an extraordinary agitation in this country with reference to the elections. To the two great divisions [parties], the Democrats and the Whigs, a third has been added under the fantastical designation of Know Nothings *(Ignorants* or *Sachants Rien)*. This party, whose mysterious and secret organization has deceived the vigilance of its adversaries, especially with regard to the number of its adherents, has obtained a majority of the votes for its candidates in San Francisco and in several other counties of this state.

Besides the mystery which surrounds the members of this new party

they also have as fundamental principles an absolute intolerance, political as well as religious. That is to say, they do not admit foreigners as candidates for public offices and exclude Catholics in general, Americans as well as foreigners.

As for the spirit of jealousy against foreigners, the desire to prevent them from voting and of excluding them from offices, it has existed in the United States for a long time. Since 1844 there has existed in New York and in several other states, an association under the name of United Americans, whose object has been to prevent foreigners from voting and to admit to public offices only citizens born in the United States of American parents. But this association has a mediocre success only, and in no place has it exercised a very great influence. It has been only recently, when under another name they made an appeal to the prejudices and fanaticism of the Protestant sects against the Catholics and their religion, that their number was increased in an extraordinary manner and their success complete in nearly all the states.

If one were to consider only the egoism and the greed of men who in California would fight for public offices four to five years with the sole aim of assuring to themselves a fortune by spoliations, extortions, robberies, and rapines [plunder], one could only applaud the success of the Know Nothings and regret that they did not have the same advantages in all the counties of this country, in the hope that for some time at least they might administer with more order and more justice, and might be able to check crime and anarchy in the midst of which the country was painfully tracing its way, and to pursue its progressive march.

Judges of the State Courts Are Elected by the People. It is in the elections that California, more than any other state in the Union, depends for its safety and the fortunes of the inhabitants in general, especially the foreigners; for besides the municipal and administrative authorities, the custom [house] employees alone excepted, the judges of all the courts of the state as well as of the counties and cities are elected by the people. When one thinks how much the men who are elected in this manner, without having either the moral qualities or the knowledge necessary for judges, depend upon those who elected them, and that moreover they occupy these important offices only for a given time; that they intend to render the most arbitrary and the most unjust decisions, without the slightest responsibility, one is no longer astonished by the multiplicity of crimes and of their impunity, or by the unjust impartiality which rules in the administration of justice and the application [enforcement] of the laws.

According to all these reports I believe that the candidates of the Know Nothings offer the best guarantees, for, chosen from among the most praiseworthy men of all the parties, Catholics and foreigners excepted, they seem to have had, above all, great consideration for the moral and intellectual

qualities of those whom they have nominated. Thus if it were not for their prejudices against foreigners and their religious and political intolerance, this country would only be able to gain by a change; for, governed by the sort of Democratic rouge which has dominated until now and which again has succeeded in maintaining and nominating a considerable number of its partisans to the lucrative and important public offices, disorder and anarchy have reached such a point that there is no longer safety for anyone, and, if that continues, foreigners will see themselves soon without the slightest protection or guarantees for life or property.

Lack of Safety for Life and Property: Two Frenchmen Executed at San Antonio. Mr. Dillon will have instructed Your Excellency on the events which have taken place at San Antonio [and] at Contra Costa. There the Americans have hanged two unfortunate men suspected of having stolen cattle, without the slightest form of a trial or of judgment. He will have told you also that in the same locality, at Contra Costa, twenty thousand head of cattle [bêtes à cornes] were stolen from the California farmers in broad daylight by force of arms, in full view of the authorities and of the entire population, without a single criminal ever being arrested or punished. These same men, so prompt today to punish disorder when they themselves suffer from it, or when they are not able to further profit from it, have not made the slightest demonstration [or] attempt to arrest or decrease this brigandage, exercised openly and audaciously against a people without defense. They had promised to protect them, but instead have oppressed them with extortions and injustice.

State of Monterey County. I Prevent the Hanging of an American. Despite the small number of American residents at Monterey, we have had there for some time several of these bloody and atrocious scenes. Two months ago, I succeeded in rescuing a poor Mexican accused of having stolen horses from the hands of a band of intoxicated Americans, armed with their revolvers. Gallows had been hastily constructed toward which they were leading him, when I was notified. As all the authorities were far away, it was only by my entreaties that they consented to put him in prison. He had been there scarcely a half hour when they found the horses that he had been accused of stealing.

Since then, a peaceful Frenchman was attacked in the street about nine o'clock in the evening and received several blows upon the head which almost killed him. Finally, Sunday, the tenth instant, an American having been killed in a dispute, a Californian, whom everyone said was innocent, after having been mortally wounded by the Americans at the time of the dispute, was dragged from his bed, almost dying, taken to the gallows, and hanged by the same band of madmen whom I mentioned above.

What is sad, especially to establish undeniably, concerning these ferocious acts which are so common in California and which testify to the state of

anarchy in which it exists, is that all of these executions and atrocities are committed with the knowledge of the authorities who, through precaution not to compromise themselves and in order to leave the country more open to the murderers, retire, and not only make no effort to prevent the perpetrations of these cruelties, nearly always unjust, but profess their complete ignorance, and never make the slightest attempt to pursue or to punish the authors of the crimes.

Such is still, Monsieur le Ministre, the sad state of California, where the tribunals, judges and juries, far from being a check upon crimes and disorders, seem only to be instituted in order to encourage them or legalize them. What is certain, at least, is that in all these circumstances, where the mass, or any band whatsoever, attempted or desired to act without consulting it [the administration], they were either indifferent or impotent, and in none of these circumstances have they in this country stopped or prevented the crimes, or have they pursued the criminals who committed them.

Thus, it is certain that in this state of affairs, despite their prejudices, the candidates of the Know Nothings seem to offer the best guarantees, both for the administration in general and the security of people and of property. But despite the triumph of this association or party at the last elections in nearly all the states, it is doubtful if this triumph will be of long duration. The Catholics and foreigners are too numerous, and united with the Democrats it is probable they will win from the Know Nothings in the coming elections in nearly all the states. One can expect bloody conflicts also, and worse than that later on, if they maintain themselves [in power]. As yet there has never been an element of discord as dangerous and as menacing in the United States. Its success or development if it takes place will probably prepare difficulties for the Union, the consequences of which it is impossible to foresee.

Another effect which the appearance of this new party undoubtedly will have if it prospers and is able to maintain itself long enough, will be to inspire new fears and still more dislike for the United States and the Anglo-American race than those which already exist among the Spanish Americans.

Disaster of French Emigration to Guaymas. Your Excellency will have learned of the disastrous result of the French emigration to Guaymas. It is to be feared that these events, and the depradations of the Apaches upon the routes from New Mexico and Texas to California at the same time, will bring measures of security on the part of the United States and new filibustering expeditions which will end sooner or later by the establishment of the Americans in Sonora and the Gulf of Lower California, in order to facilitate the accomplishment of the railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific. For this line, [once] established, they will assure to themselves in perpetuity the immense traffic which will soon be established by this route between China, India, Japan, Oceania, and the Atlantic and Europe.[46]

Please accept the homage and respect with which I have the honor of being, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

J. A. Moerenhout
Consul of France

Addressed:
A Son Excellence
Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères à Paris

XV[47]

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER[48]

Monsieur le Ministre: Monterey, November 15, 1855

I have the honor of informing Your Excellency that the thirty-first of October last, the French and Sardinian residents of Monterey celebrated the capture of Sebastopol by illuminations and cannon shots. They celebrated this glorious event with the consent of the American authorities. It was Monsieur le Commandant of the Port who loaned them the cannon.

The next day I invited all of them to a banquet at the vice-consulate, where, on my proposal, they drank with enthusiasm to the health of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, to the Queen of England, etc.

I mention this fact to Your Excellency only because the same celebration took place spontaneously everywhere in California, except at San Francisco, where they are now preparing for a general celebration, and in order to point out to Your Excellency that in whatever country they inhabit the French always interest themselves in everything that pertains to the honor and glory of their country. He [the Frenchman] alone in similar circumstances and even abroad consults only his heart and his sentiments without mental reservation, without regard to his own position and personal interests.

The Englishman, however, is also proud of the glory of his country and does not hesitate to proclaim it loudly and everywhere, but is less excited, and with him are the Scotch and the Irish, his compatriots, always to be found. He [the Englishman] finds himself stopped in his emotions by the prudence and economy of the first named, and by the hatred and bad wishes of the second named—a sentiment which is general among the Irish and which appears to increase from the time they leave their country and find themselves free. I doubt if there is in this country a single individual of that nation, whatever may be his rank or social position, who would unite voluntarily with the English to celebrate the triumph of the allied armies in Crimea.

The celebration of the fête at San Francisco will be made by subscription.[49] There, the English will signalize themselves both by ostentation and profusion, both of which pertain to their character. On the other hand, the number of English merchants and Englishmen of wealth in San Fran-

cisco is considerable; while, although much more numerous, the French who inhabit that city belong principally to the working class and find themselves for the most part in a position which will oblige them to keep to the minimum subscription, which is ten francs.

This country continues to give the most revolting examples of disorder and crime. Every day the newspapers mention murders and frightful assassinations. Even in the county of Monterey, although still sparsely populated, there have been several of these bloody scenes. A few weeks ago a man was assassinated in a most barbarous manner in broad daylight at the Mission of San Carlos, and the ninth of this month, Mr. Wall, the collector of the customs of this port, and a Mr. Williamson, formerly deputy sheriff, were found assassinated in the road from Monterey to San Luis Obispo.[50] Up to the present time, they do not know who the authors of this latter crime are. But above all, that which proves the degraded and immoral state of the present population of this country is that the suspicion of having committed such an atrocious crime has weighed one after another upon persons who occupy important positions or find themselves in relatively very respectable social positions.

Accept the homage of the respect with which I have the honor of being, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

J. A. Moerenhout
Consul of France

Addressed:
A Son Excellence
Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères à Paris

NOTES

25. Correspondance Politique. Sér. Mexique, Vol. 41, folios 330-33.

26. Agence Consulaire à Monterey No. 12. Direction Politique.

27. Concerning this expedition of Walker's, see Hittell, *op. cit.*, III, 758-65; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 599 ff; William V. Wells, *Walker's Expedition to Nicaragua* (New York, 1856), pp. 25 ff; 33 Cong., 2d sess., S. Doc. 16. See also Wyllys, "The French in Sonora," *op. cit.*, and other references given in Note 21, above.

28. Patrice Dillon was the French consul in San Francisco. See Soulé *et al, Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), pp. 532 ff.

29. The affair at La Paz was advertised in California as a great victory "releasing Lower California from the tyrannous yoke of a declining Mexico and establishing a new republic." San Diego correspondent, *Alta California,* Dec. 8, 1853 (quoted in Scroggs, *op. cit.*, p. 38, and in Hittell, *op. cit.*, III, 763-64).

30. For the excitement in San Francisco, see Scroggs, *loc. cit.*

31. Recruiting offices were opened at San Francisco and elsewhere.

32. Attempts to purchase Lower California and obtain a right-of-way for a railroad from Nogales via Magdalena and Hermosillo to Guaymas were made a few years later by Robert McLane, U. S. minister to Mexico. See J. M. Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations* (New York, 1932), consult index.

33. The Sonoran railroad was suggested in 1850. The Southern Pacific of Mexico now runs a railroad from Nogales via Hermosillo to Guaymas. See W. R. Long, "Railways of Mexico," U. S. Dept. of Commerce, *Trade Promotion Ser. No. 16* (Washington, D. C., 1925), pp. 180 ff. See also G. D. Bradley, *The Story of the Santa Fe* (Boston, 1920), pp. 225-26.

34. Correspondence Politique. Sér. États-Unis, Vol. 110, folios 129-30.

35. Agence Consulaire à Monterey No. 15. Direction Politique. Duplicata.

36. There was a great deal of correspondence on the purchase and sale of Lower California during and immediately after the Gadsden purchase treaty. See James Fred Rippy, *The United States and Mexico* (New York, 1926), Chapters V-VIII *passim;* Callahan, *op. cit.,* Chapters VII-VIII *passim;* and Bemis, *op. cit.,* VI, consult index.

37. These four quixotic decrees are given in the *Alta California,* Jan. 20, 1854; Scroggs, *op. cit.,* p. 42.

38. See Scroggs, *op. cit.,* pp. 43-44.

39. Correspondence Politique. Sér. États-Unis, Vol. 114, folios 353 ff, *verso.*

40. Vice Consulat de France à Monterey No. 19. Direction Politique. Duplicata.

41. This letter is dated at Monterey but was written in San Francisco.

42. Concerning the Dillon affair, see: Bancroft, *op. cit.,* VI, 590; Soulé *et al, op. cit.,* pp. 531-35; Hittell, *op. cit.,* III, 743; A. de Lachapelle, *Le Comte Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon* (Paris, 1859), *passim;* and Wyllys, "The French in Sonora," etc., as cited in Note 21, above. This important "affair of the consuls" has not yet been fully investigated. The materials are voluminous save for the actual reports of the French consul which are not available to the public, but their contents are brought out in the correspondence between the foreign office of France and the U. S. state department and their ambassadors in both Paris and Washington. Much material is to be found in Paris in the Correspondence Politique, Sér. États-Unis, and in the state department at Washington. MSS, despatches: France, notes to; France, notes from; and also in the series of instructions. Some accounts are given in Correspondence Politique, Sér. Mexique. The *Alta California* and the *L'Echo du Pacifique* published full accounts of the affair and of the trials. Many clippings from those newspapers were sent to the Paris foreign office. Some material has been published in 35 Cong., 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. 88, pp. 134-51. References may be found in Herbert E. Bolton, *Guide to the Materials relating to United States History in the Principal Archives of Mexico* (Washington, 1913). The best printed account, especially with reference to foreign relations, is to be found in Bemis, *op. cit.,* VI, 281-83.

43. Correspondence Politique. Sér. États-Unis, Vol. 115, folios 168-71.

44. Vice Consulat de France à Monterey No. 23. Direction Politique. Duplicata.

45. An excellent account of the Know Nothing party in this state is given by P. Hurt in "The Rise and Fall of the 'Know Nothings' in California," this QUARTERLY, IX (March and June 1930), 16-49, 99-128.

46. See Bradley, *loc cit.;* and Rippy, *op. cit.,* pp. 126-85 *passim.*

47. Correspondence Politique. Sér. États-Unis, Vol. 113, folios 224-25; also Vol. 115, folios 252-53.

48. Vice Consulat de France à Monterey No. 35. Direction Politique.

49. The celebration of the capture of Sebastopol is described in Daniel Lévy, *Les Français en Californie* (San Francisco, 1884), pp. 156-59.

50. For the murder of Wall and Williamson, see Hittell *op. cit.,* III, 476-79. Isaac B. Wall had been speaker of the Assembly, and T. S. Williamson was assessor of Monterey County.

Early Military Posts of Mendocino County, California

By Fred B. Rogers

THE INDIAN RESERVATIONS

A BRIEF DISCUSSION of the Round Valley and Mendocino Indian reservations is a necessary preliminary to a study of Mendocino County's early military posts, since these posts and the reservations were intimately connected.[1]

In 1854 Thomas J. Henley was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs in California, succeeding Edward F. Beale. Henley soon set about establishing additional Indian reservations, among the earliest of which was the Nome Lackee Reservation formed in September 1854 on Thomes Creek about twenty miles west of Tehama. Originally in Colusa County, the reservation was embraced in Tehama County in 1856.[2] A detachment of the 3d U. S. Artillery served at Nome Lackee to give local protection between January 4, 1855, and April 21, 1858, the various commanders being lieutenants James Deshler, John H. Lendrum, John Edwards and Michael R. Morgan.[3]

Remains of an adobe "fortification" still exist at the site of the agency. This structure, about one hundred feet square with walls about ten feet high, was built primarily for the protection of agency personnel.[4] The Nome Lackee Reservation was the forerunner of the Round Valley Reservation; it was gradually displaced by the latter and was abandoned in 1861.[5]

In 1856, as an adjunct of Nome Lackee, Henley established the "Nome Cult Farm" in Round Valley, northeastern Mendocino County, with S. P. Storms in charge.[6] This beautiful and productive valley varies from about seven to ten miles in diameter, is surrounded by mountains, and lies within a large bend of the Middle Fork of Eel River. Army records in the National Archives tell of a Camp Mackall, located in a Round Valley on Cash or Cache Creek, and occupied in April and again in June 1857. This camp was apparently not in Mendocino County.[7]

In 1858 the secretary of the interior directed that Nome Cult Valley be retained as a reservation.[8] In the spring of 1860, Deputy-Surveyor Hatch made a survey of the reservation which was recorded in the San Francisco land office on May 4, 1860, the extent of the area being 25,030 acres.[9] However, it was not until March 30, 1870, and following another survey, that an executive order was issued by President Grant formally establishing the Round Valley Reservation.[10] This reservation with various modifications exists today.

The Mendocino Indian Reservation was selected by H. P. Heintzelman acting under orders from Henley who forwarded the recommendation to Commissioner Manypenny by letter dated November 17, 1855. Approved by President Pierce May 22, 1856, the reservation extended from the Noyo River to about a mile north of the present Ten Mile River, and from the Pacific Ocean inland to include the first range of hills so as to contain about 25,000 acres.[11] Henry L. Ford was the first sub-agent.[12] Although grain did not do well, potatoes were successfully raised and there was an abundance of shell fish, cod and sardines, while "immense quantities of salmon were taken with nets in the Noyo River."[13]

FORT BRAGG

Although as early as 1856 consideration had been given to the advisability of a military post on the Mendocino Indian Reservation, it was not until the summer of 1857 that the project was placed in execution. First Lieut. Horatio G. Gibson, 3d Artillery, was assigned the mission and was provided with a detachment from his own company, M of the 3d Artillery, then serving at the Presidio of San Francisco.[14]

It was the admiration of this young officer for a former company commander of his, Capt. Braxton Bragg of Buena Vista fame, that led to the naming of the new post.[15] The name was perpetuated when it was adopted by the town of Fort Bragg, which was established much later at the fort site selected by Lieutenant Gibson.[16]

Under date of June 8, 1857, Gibson reported from Mendocino City that he had arrived there the 5th instant, that because of the absence of a road to the Noyo River he was moving his heavy baggage to the Noyo on the agency schooner, and that he was arranging to have tentage and light articles packed by Indians. Because of the absence of vacant quarters at the agency and his desire to keep his command separate, he proposed to build his post on the south bank of the Noyo. At that time the agency buildings were about a half-mile north of that stream.[17]

In his next letter dated "Camp Bragg, Mendocino Reserve, Cal., June 18, 1857," Gibson stated that he had arrived at the Noyo the 8th instant but had found no suitable site on the south bank, and that he had established his camp about a mile and a half north of the river. Tools were loaned by Captain Ford and the men set to work hewing timber for buildings. Says Gibson: "It is however slow work, owing to the scarcity of proper tools and other facilities; and I do not expect to have all necessary buildings completed before the beginning of the rainy season."[18]

The date officially recorded for the establishment of the post was June 11, 1857.[19]

During the summer of 1857, Capt. Erasmus D. Keyes, 3d Artillery, made an inspection of the post. On September 15, 1857, Lieutenant Gibson wrote from "Fort Bragg" to Major Mackall giving information regarding the

management of the Mendocino Reservation. He requested an army surgeon and some howitzers, and stated: "With regard to my Post, I have to report the erection and occupation of three buildings, all of which however are unfinished. The men are now at work on the officers' quarters, which ought to be completed within a month. A stable, guardhouse and storehouse have yet to be built."[20]

In June 1857 and in the fiscal year following, a little over $600 was spent in building the post.[21] In 1858 Lieutenant Gibson had two paintings of the post made by Alexander Edouart, an artist of San Francisco. One was retained by Gibson who later stated, "One I sent to Genl. Bragg, then not in the Army, but Mrs. Bragg years afterward told me that it was burnt when the Genl's mansion and plantation were burnt or destroyed by the Union troops in 1864." The painting is of a scene looking northeast across the parade ground and shows four of the fort's buildings against a background of pines. In the foreground is the flagstaff and a detachment of about twenty men in ranks facing an officer with drawn sword.[22]

After Col. Edward J. Steptoe's defeat at Te-hoto-nim-me in eastern Washington Territory in May 1858, plans were soon made for sending a large expedition to that area under command of Col. George Wright. Among the troops ordered north from California was Company M, 3d Artillery, including its detachment at Fort Bragg. A letter of Lieutenant Gibson dated "Fort Bragg, Cal., June 15, 1858," tells of his evacuation of the post: "In obedience to your letter of instructions of the 31st ultimo, received at noon of the 5th instant, the detachment of Company M, 3d Art under my command left this Post to rejoin its company on the 7th instant. My confinement to a sick bed has prevented my accompanying it, and detained me at the Post until today. Strength of detachment 15 rank and file. A copy of my instructions to the non-commissioned officer left in charge of the Post and public property will be transmitted to Dept. Headqrs. at an early day."[23]

Following Wright's successful campaign, Gibson returned to Fort Bragg for a short stay in November 1858, whether with troops was not stated.[24] Early in 1859, probably in January, a detachment of about twenty men of Company D, 6th U. S. Infantry, was sent to Fort Bragg from Fort Weller, being guided overland by James Tobin.[25] When Fort Weller was abandoned in September 1859, all of Company D, except a detachment at Round Valley, was assembled at Fort Bragg under Bvt. Maj. Edward Johnson. Returns show Company D to have been at Fort Bragg and commanded by 2d Lieut. Edward Dillon on December 31, 1860, and by 1st Lieut. Orlando H. Moore on June 30, 1861.[26] The company lost two officers to the Confederate cause: Major Johnson who resigned June 10, 1861, and Lieutenant Dillon who was dropped from the rolls June 25, 1861. The former became a major general and the latter a colonel in the Confederate army.[27]

Col. Patrick E. Connor, 3d California Infantry, then at Stockton, on November 1, 1861, was ordered to send a company of that regiment to San Francisco, destined for Fort Bragg. On November 20, 1861, 1st Lieut. James P. Martin, 7th Infantry, then commanding Company D, 6th Infantry, at Fort Bragg, was ordered to march his company to Mendocino prepared to embark on the return of the steamer *Columbia* from Crescent City. Capt. Jeremiah B. Moore with Company B, 3d California Infantry, relieved Lieutenant Martin at Fort Bragg on November 23, 1861, and Company D, the last regular army unit to occupy the post, was soon on its way to the battlefields of the East.[28]

Commencing in 1859 and probably continuing for several years, the tiny post left by Lieutenant Gibson was necessarily increased to company size. Although no ground plan has been located, various accounts, surveys, and the photograph included with this article enable assembly of a fairly satisfactory description.

The post was located within an opening or clearing in the pine woods, about fifteen acres in extent, rectangular in shape with long axis lying east and west. Old-timers of Fort Bragg and vicinity still remember the location as having been a "nice warm spot" before the pines were cleared away. The south side of present-day Laurel Street, from the railroad depot to the alley between Franklin and McPherson streets, was the north side of the post; the alley corresponds to the east side; the south side extended from a point on the alley about one hundred feet south of Redwood Street west to the section line beyond the Union Lumber Company office, and the west side was generally along that section line. Main Street bisects the area somewhat west of its center.[29]

The one-story quarters of the officers, the troops, and the non-commissioned officers were respectively on the east, north, and south sides of the parade ground and occupied the eastern part of the area. Farther west were the guard house, the commissary and quartermaster storehouse (in the southwest corner), with the stables on the west side. The hospital stood near the northwest corner on a knoll which is at present occupied by the Guest House of the Union Lumber Company. Dr. P. W. Randle was post surgeon in 1863. The hospital was remodeled about 1884 and used as a residence by C. R. Johnson. There were probably about sixteen buildings in all. The cemetery was immediately west of the parade ground; the remains were later moved to the cemetery in the northern part of town.[30]

Captain Moore's company was relieved on August 11, 1862, by Company D, 2d California Infantry, Capt. William E. Hull commanding, which arrived on the *Panama*.[31]

All troops at Fort Bragg, except possibly Gibson's and Moore's, operated in the field against hostile Indians, generally to the north as far as Shelter Cove and northeast to the South Fork of the Eel River and Long Valley.

FORT BRAGG About 1862 (Looking East)

Courtesy of C. Russel Johnson

Captain Hull received the commendation of the department commander for his operations from March to June of 1864. While off duty, a favorite gathering place for soldiers was John Burns' hotel at Noyo. Desertions were comparatively few. After their discharge, some soldiers who had served at the post returned and settled in the vicinity.[32]

In September 1864, many units serving in the Humboldt district were ordered south, among them Captain Hull's company. The steamer *Panama* left Humboldt Bay October 18, 1864, picked up the Fort Bragg garrison and arrived at the Presidio of San Francisco October 20. Thus was completed the permanent evacuation and abandonment of the post.[33] The Mendocino Indian Reservation was discontinued in March 1866, and the land opened for settlement several years later.[34]

The troops gone, there remains only to record the passing of the fort's buildings. In 1870 about fifteen houses were still standing but with "crumbling roofs, doorless doors and paneless windows." By 1889 but two remaining houses were recorded; in 1907 the guard house still stood, but today all vestige of Mendocino's first military post seems to have disappeared.[35]

FORT WELLER

Nearing the end of a march of about 2100 miles from Fort Leavenworth to Benicia, the 6th U. S. Infantry paraded through Sacramento on the morning of November 11, 1858. The Sacramento *Daily Bee* thus noted the unusual spectacle:

> At precisely 11 o'clock the Regiment marched down J Street, with bayonets glistening in the sun, colors flying, band playing "Jordan is a hard road to travel" and "Yankee Doodle," and all hands covered with dust, all of which was hugely admired by a large concourse of men, women, and children, who thronged the street. The train which consisted of about 160 wagons, extended a distance of two miles. The soldiers all looked first rate, marched well, were clean and well dressed, and presented an unexpectedly good appearance. The band, consisting of fourteen pieces, and six drums and fifes, made good music, and did Uncle Sam credit.[36]

It was not recorded whether the band's repertoire included the currently popular tune "Sacramento Gals," but it does seem natural that the troops cast many an admiring, sideward glance at the Sacramento "gals" among the crowd lining the street.[37]

The stay of the regiment at Benicia was short; most of the companies were soon on their way to stations in southern California. Earlier in 1858 Bvt. Brig. Gen. Newman S. Clarke, department commander, had received a personal call from Superintendent Henley, who represented that troops were needed at the Round Valley and Mendocino reservations "for the purpose of protecting property from Indian depredations and to protect the Indians from the consequences at the hands of the white men."[38]

As a result of Henley's request, Company D, 6th Infantry, under the temporary command of 1st Lieut. William P. Carlin, 6th Infantry, left Benicia Barracks on December 13, 1858, with orders to take post at or near

the Nome Cult Indian Reservation in Round Valley. "The baggage and supply train consisted of nineteen wagons, drawn by six mules each, the wagons loaded with about 1800 [pounds]. The mules were a portion of the same lot that crossed the plains with the Sixth Infantry, and were not entirely recovered from the effects of that long trip." The route was via Sonoma, Petaluma, and Healdsburg to Cloverdale. Much difficulty was met in negotiating the mountains at the canyon of the Russian River, commencing about three miles north of Cloverdale. The teams were doubled when practicable, otherwise troops were used to assist in pulling or pushing the wagons.[39]

After fording Russian River several times the company reached Calpella where it was joined on December 23 by the company commander, Capt. and Bvt. Maj. Edward Johnson. The following day a point was reached at the end of the road on Russian River in Redwood Valley about seven miles north of Calpella. There the train was unloaded, a supply depot was established, and on the twenty-fifth the wagons were sent back to Benicia for new loads.[40]

In order to determine the most practicable route to Round Valley, 2d Lieut. Edward Dillon was sent on a reconnoissance. Leaving the depot site on December 24, and accompanied by the guide, James Tobin, Dillon passed east over the intervening ridge into Potter Valley. Thence he was also accompanied by a Mr. Potter, probably William or Thomas Potter, who pointed out a suggested route which led northwesterly from the head of Potter Valley, crossing Tomki Creek then called Blood Creek, about two miles above its mouth, to the Eel River about two miles east of the present site of Hearst. The party then returned to the depot camp December 26, crossing Tomki Creek about three miles higher up, thence via the ridge east of Redwood Canyon. Dillon reported the streams swollen and the trails by either route steep, slippery, and obstructed, with some boggy places. He considered that animals with light packs could be taken through, but that a wagon road was impracticable.[41]

Confronted with this situation, Johnson wrote explaining the situation to the department commander. He stated that even if it were possible to get the company through to Round Valley it would be impracticable to transport sufficient supplies, and that the valley was supplied only by packing from Tehama in the dry season. He reported that "the dam at the sawmill just below this was carried away last night," and concluded with a recommendation that he build a post at his camp site as a depot of supply and for protecting the adjacent country, and that he send a small detachment to Round Valley.[42]

Johnson's recommendation was approved, for he wrote to that effect to the Adjutant General of the Army from "Fort Weller, Cal., Jan. 28th, 1849," enclosing a sketch of the country from Sonoma to Round Valley.[43]

He named the post for John B. Weller, governor of California and former U. S. senator. The post was officially founded January 3, 1859.[44]

The site was on the present ranch of Mr. and Mrs. Homer H. Mitten, west of the Redwood Valley road and immediately east of a small tributary of Russian River.[45] The location was pointed out to the present writer by James A. Lane of Cloverdale, and Isaac C. Burke of Redwood Valley. Both lived in the vicnity in their youth. Mr. Lane was born in 1867, moved near the fort location in 1868, and lived there until twenty-two years of age. He remembers several buildings at the site and says that all were demolished or burned.

The construction of the post was under Lieutenant Carlin who submitted a ground plan, dated July 1859, for the nine buildings required.[45] It is not certain how many of those buildings were actually constructed. It is likely that merely crude shelters had been built during the previous winter.

Some forty additional men, mostly recruits, arrived at the post with the wagon train returning from Benicia Barracks under Lieutenant Dillon in January 1859. During that month Company D sent a detachment of about seventeen men, commanded by Lieutenant Dillon, to Round Valley; another detachment of about twenty men was sent to Fort Bragg. Both were guided by James Tobin.[46]

Apparently the trail to Round Valley and the supply situation there were improved during the summer to the extent that it was considered desirable to vacate Fort Weller and send its garrison to Fort Bragg. The abandonment of this short-lived post was in September 1859.[47]

CAMP WRIGHT

The station of Dillon's detachment in Round Valley appears in records as having been at the Nome Cult Agency without having any special camp name. It was probably located at or near a group of buildings, including a block house, shown on the map of the reservation survey of 1860 as about two miles northeast of the present town of Covelo.[48]

In March 1859 Dillon asked Major Johnson for mules for pack purposes and some garden seeds, stating that the men wanted some occupation badly. After a period of uncertainty, it was determined to keep the troops in Round Valley, and Dillon was notified in September 1859 that he should make his command "as comfortable as possible by the Labor of Troops but that no expense must fall on the government."

Dillon remained at Round Valley until May 1860 when he was transferred to Fort Bragg, leaving a sergeant in charge of the detachment. In April 1861 Dillon ordered the detachment from Round Valley to a point on Eel River, probably near present Dos Rios, "equidistant from Round, Long and Eden Valleys." One corporal and a private remained in Round Valley. Both detachments were withdrawn to Fort Bragg in July 1861.[49]

Because of several representations of the necessity therefor, made by

George M. Hanson, superintendent of Indian affairs for northern California, troops were ordered to Round Valley on October 28, 1862. The unit selected was Company F, 2d California Infantry, Capt. Charles D. Douglas commanding, which was ordered from Camp Gaston to Round Valley via Fort Humboldt and Fort Bragg. After interminable delays en route due to difficulty in obtaining a vessel, calms and fog at sea, and heavy rains during the trip overland, Douglas and his company arrived at Round Valley December 11, 1862. There a site was selected and the new post was named Fort Wright, later called Camp Wright, for the commander of the Pacific department, Gen. George Wright.[50]

Previously General Wright had ordered the establishment of martial law in Round Valley, so it became one of the first duties of Captain Douglas to investigate formally the situation there. In his long report to General Wright, Captain Douglas discussed his findings, generally approving the position taken by the settlers against the Indians and against the management of Indian affairs. General Wright then revoked his instructions for the establishment of martial law and ordered the restoration of a justice of the peace who had been removed by Douglas.[51]

The post location was about one and a half miles northwest of the present town of Covelo. During 1863 and 1864 the post construction proceeded. All were log buildings with roofs of shakes. These included two officers' quarters, a company quarters and mess hall, bakery, hospital, guard house, storehouse, and stables. The post surgeon was Dr. William C. Deans.[52]

Although most of the men were on guard and pack-train duty, and post construction, on at least two occasions detachments took the field against hostile Indians in 1853. Several men were at the ferry on Eel River. In 1864 Captain Douglas stated that his orders were to protect the Indians and their interests from the depredations of bad whites, to prevent the Indians from leaving the reserve, and as far as possible to protect settlers' property from Indian depredations.[53]

Capt. José Ramon Pico's Company A, California Native Cavalry, joined the post November 23, 1864, and remained until April 1865, when it left for Benicia.[54] There is evidence that this reinforcement of Captain Douglas' reduced company was to forestall possible uprising by suspected disloyal elements in the vicinity.[55]

The Fourth of July 1865 saw the garrison and settlers joined in celebration. Lieut. John H. Swift gave the oration. About twenty-five ladies were present, several from the Sacramento Valley. In the afternoon there was horse racing, probably at Storms' mile track about three miles southeast of the post. Then the crowd went to the "ice cream saloon" and was served ice cream made with snow packed in the day previous from "the summit." An all-night session of the quadrille followed, broken only by an intermission for supper.[56]

On April 13, 1866, Company F received its long-awaited relief by Capt. William H. Jordan's Company A, 9th U. S. Infantry. Company F left by schooner from Noyo for the Presidio of San Francisco where it was mustered out May 4. That year was commenced a brick building for Captain Jordan's quarters. Entertainment for the troops included singing school every Saturday night and "dances very often."[57] About this time a visitor to the post said, "The neat white barracks of Fort Wright, with its prim enclosure, spoke of military precision and discipline."[58]

A Ukiah paper described the passage through town on May 13, 1869, of the relief for Jordan's company:

> Yesterday morning a company, or at least, a portion of a company, of Uncle Sams boys in blue, directly from Washington City, passed through here, on their way to Camp Wright, together with all but innumerable wives and children and plenty of baggage.

This was Company A, 12th U. S. Infantry, under 1st Lieut. Alexander B. MacGowan, which with other units of its regiment had crossed the country by rail, except for a march of about forty-five miles at the incomplete section between the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads.[59]

Capt. Edward C. Woodruff, 12th Infantry, assumed command in August 1869. The same year a new company barrack building of adobe 200 by 30 feet was erected on the south side of the parade ground, and a military reservation one mile square was established. A school was "soon to be opened" at the post in the spring of 1870. Other buildings erected were a storehouse 88 by 26 feet on the west side of the parade ground in 1873; an additional room on its north end in 1874; a guard house 30 by 20 feet on the west side in 1874; and a hospital 54 by 16 feet with an addition 20 by 12 feet in the rear was located 200 yards east of camp, date of completion not stated. To the west outside the quadrangle were the bake house, carpenter's shop, and laundress' quarters; the corral was some 300 feet south of the enclosure fence; the cemetery which in 1870 contained six graves was much farther to the southwest. Cows, hogs and chickens were kept, while gardens provided some vegetables. There were several dug wells which dried in the summer, necessitating the hauling of water from a creek.[60]

A. G. Tassin states that during the Modoc War Captain Woodruff arranged with the Indian agent at Round Valley to have arms taken from the Pit River Indians then on that reservation. To this action Tassin attributes the lack of an uprising by those Indians.[61]

By 1875, the nearby town of Covelo claimed two stores, a post office, express, drug store, livery stable, three saloons, and three doctors. It was a place of "constant excitement, with drinking, gambling and horse racing." Annual horse races were held there for Mendocino, Trinity, Humboldt and Sonoma counties, with "horses training for weeks and hotels crowded."[62]

Because of friendly relations with the Indians of the reservation, Camp

Wright was ordered abandoned on June 10, 1875, the troops left on June 17 and their "elegant quarters were placed in charge of a Dr. Patty."[63] An executive order of July 26, 1876, relinquished the Camp Wright Military Reservation. It was transferred to the interior department for use and occupancy by the Indians on the Round Valley Indian Reservation, for whom it was divided later in ten-acre allotments.[64]

There were two more occasions when troops were sent for a short time to Round Valley. The first was in September of 1887, when a detachment from the Presidio of San Francisco, under Capt. Richard G. Shaw, was sent to "remove settler's stock from the reservation." Again in March 1892 Capt. William E. Dougherty led Company B, 1st Infantry, and a detachment of the 4th Cavalry to the valley. This was said to have been necessary because of the refusal of George E. White, "the cattle king of Mendocino County, to vacate the territory on request of the Indian agent."[65]

At present only a few heaps of stones and broken brick, and several abandoned wells, give evidence of the location of old Camp Wright—last of Mendocino's early posts.

NOTES

Manuscripts referred to are to be found in the National Archives unless otherwise stated. Mrs. J. S. Cotton, Fort Bragg, has the letters written to her by Gen. H. G. Gibson.

1. Before establishment of reservations and posts in Mendocino County, two U. S. expeditions consisting of troops, in whole or part, passed through the area. The first was the 1850 punitive expedition of Bvt. Capt. Nathaniel Lyon, 2d Infantry. *See* 31st Cong., 2d sess., Sen. Exec. Doc. 1, Pt. II, 81-83; and Herman Altschule, "Exploring the Coast Range in 1850," in *Overland Monthly*, 2d Ser., XI, 321-23. The second expedition was that of Redick McKee, agent of the Indian department, which marched from Sonoma to the Klamath River in 1851. McKee had an escort of 36 dragoons under Bvt. Maj. Henry W. Wessels, 2d Infantry. George Gibbs' journal of McKee's expedition is in Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge* (Philadelphia, 1860), III, 99-177. Wessels' report is in 34th Cong., 3d sess., H. R. Exec. Doc. 76, pp. 59-68. The camps used by those expeditions were over-night camps or were used for but a few days.

2. Alban W. Hoopes, *Indian Affairs and their Administration* (Philadelphia, 1932), pp. 56-57. Owen C. Coy, *California County Boundaries* (Berkeley, 1923), p. 276. A. L. Kroeber, "California Place Names of Indian Origin," in *Univ. Calif. Publs. Am. Archeol. and Ethnol.*, XII, No. 2, p. 51, lists Nomlaki as meaning west-tongue or west-language. Henry L. Ford became the first sub-agent at Nome Lackee. In his MS report to Henley, dated Tehama, Sept. 4, 1854, regarding his reconnaissance of the proposed reservation, he stated, "This section of the country is inhabited by a tribe of Indians calling themselves Nome Lacka."

3. Dates of occupancy are in 35th Cong., 2d sess., H. R. Ex. Doc. No. 93, p. 23. Names of officers are in MS letter, T. J. Henley to Maj. Gen. J. E. Wool, San Francisco, May 31, 1855; 34th Cong., 1st sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1, p. 140; 35th Cong., 1st sess., H. R. Ex. Doc. No. 2, p. 78; Red Bluff *Beacon*, June 24, 1857.

4. Report of T. J. Henley in *Report of the Comr. Ind. Affairs for 1856* (Washington, 1857), p. 238; and MS letter, Henley to the Comr., Oct. 4, 1856.

5. Report of George M. Hanson in *Report of the Comr. Ind. Affairs for 1862* (Washington, 1863), p. 312.

6. Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), I, 825. A. L. Kroeber, in *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Washington, 1925), p. 896, says that Nome Cult is Wintun for "west people."

7. Capt. J. W. T. Gardiner, with his Company A, 1st Dragoons, was at Camp Mackall, *Cache* Creek, in April 1857. Since Gardiner was reported to have arrived at Fort Reading early in May of that year, "after a ten days march from Benicia," it appears that the Cache Creek referred to may have been the one forming the outlet of Clear Lake. Red Bluff *Beacon*, May 12, 1857; Letters, National Archives to F. B. Rogers, March 9 and July 15, 1948.

8. Kappler, *loc. cit.*

9. San Francisco *Examiner*, Feb. 5, 1888, pp. 9-10.

10. Kappler, *op. cit.*, p. 828.

11. Hoopes, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

12. Henry L. Ford (1822-1860) was a prominent participant in the Bear Flag revolt of 1846, was in command of a detachment in the skirmish at Olompali, and commanded Company B, California Battalion under Frémont. His MS on the Bear Flag revolt, now at the Bancroft Library, is an important contribution to the history of that affair. He was killed at Round Valley, Mendocino County, by the accidental discharge of his pistol July 2, 1860. Sacramento *Daily Union*, July 6, 1860.

13. *Report of the Comr. Ind. Affairs for the year 1857* (Washington, 1858), pp. 394-98; *for the year 1858* (Washington, 1858), p. 301.

14. 34th Cong., 3d sess., H. R. Ex. Doc. No. 76, p. 143; *Special Orders No. 72*, hq. dept. of the Pacific, May 30, 1857. Horatio Gates Gibson (1827-1924) was born in Maryland, graduated from the U. S. military academy in 1847, served in the war with Mexico, and arrived at Monterey on the ship *Fanny Forrester* April 16, 1849. He served at many stations of the Pacific coast. In 1855 he commanded the escort with the California-Oregon railroad survey party of Lieut. R. S. Williamson. He was wounded in an engagement with Indians near Grave Creek, Oregon, the same year and took part in Wright's Spokane expedition of 1858. In 1861 he went east, served in the Civil War, and was retired as colonel in 1891. He was advanced to the rank of brigadier general in 1904 for Civil War service and died in 1924, at which time he was the oldest living graduate of the U. S. military academy. George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* (New York, 1868), pp. 190-91; *ibid.* (Cambridge, Mass., 1901), IV, 71; *Army and Navy Journal*, April 26, 1924, p. 843; Society of Calif. Pioneers, *Record* completed by Gibson.

15. H. G. Gibson in MS letters to Mrs. J. S. Cotton, Mar. 14 and Apr. 16, 1911, says: "It [Fort Bragg] has preserved the name of my honored friend and commander, of Buena Vista and Confederate fame," and, "Genl. Bragg never saw Fort Bragg." General Gibson in 1902 wrote a 17 page MS on Bragg's "Light Battery C, 3d Artillery," copy held by F. B. Rogers. In the battle of Buena Vista, Feb. 22-23, 1847, Santa Ana was completely routed by the Americans under Gen. Zachary Taylor.

16. In 1884 the small community which had grown in the vicinity received impetus from the construction there of the sawmill of the Fort Bragg Redwood Company, predecessor of the present Union Lumber Company. *See* "For 59 Years," in *West Coast Lumberman*, Aug. 1942, p. 23. The town of Fort Bragg was incorporated June 24, 1889. Aurelius O. Carpenter, *History of Mendocino and Lake Counties, California* (Los Angeles, 1914), p. 64.

17. MS letter recd. dept. Pac., July 13, 1857, File G 22. *Report Comr. Ind. Affairs for the year 1857* (Washington, 1858), p. 390, notes: "a schooner of twenty tons used

for bringing supplies from the landing at Mendocino city to the reserve by sea a distance of twelve miles."

18. MS letter recd. dept. Pac., July 10, 1857, File G 19.

19. 35th Cong., 2d sess., H. R. Ex. Doc. No. 93, p. 23.

20. MS letter recd. dept. Pac., Sept. 29, 1857, File G 47.

21. 35th Cong., 2d sess., H. R. Ex. Doc. No. 93, p. 17.

22. MS letter March 12, 1911, Gibson to Mrs. Cotton. Alexander Edouart (1818-1892), son of the famous silhouettist Augustin A. C. F. Edouart, painted the "Mendocino Hunting Party of 1857," which appeared in Vischer's *Pictorial of California* (San Francisco, 1870). He was a member of the hunting party which visited the Mendocino reservation, and he made the sketches for the seven woodcut illustrations in "Reminiscences of Mendocino," by an anonymous author (probably Edward Vischer) in *Hutchings' California Magazine*, III, No. 4 (Oct. 1858), pp. 145-60, 177-81. Edouart also is probably the artist who made a sketch of Round Valley in 1858, photographic copy of which is in The Smithsonian Institution, bureau of American ethnology, File No. 20—California. His painting of Fort Bragg is held by Mrs. Katherine Gibson White, daughter of General Gibson. It is understood that a reproduction of this painting is to appear in a book on California artists before 1860, by Miss Edith M. Coulter and Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand, to be published by the University of California Press.

23. MS letter recd. dept. Pac., Ft. Vancouver, July 5, 1858, File G-2, re-marked G-73.

24. Gibson, MS letter to Mrs. Cotton, March 12, 1911. In this letter Gibson lists the following persons with whom he became acquainted during his service at Fort Bragg: Capt. Henry L. Ford, Dr. T. M. Ames (agency physician), D. Sargent, Bob White, and John Simpson. He adds, "Mr. Alex. McPherson built his sawmill at the Noyo while I was in command and lived with me. I surveyed his tract of land and made a crude survey of the Noyo Harbor."

25. Appendix to Jour. Calif. Sen., 11th sess. (Sacramento, 1860), No. 11, *Majority and Minority Reports of the Special Joint Committee on the Mendocino War*—hereafter cited as *Mendocino War*—pp. 54-55; *Daily Alta California*, Jan. 20, 1859.

26. *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. I (Washington, 1897)—hereafter cited as *Rebellion Records*—L, Pt. I, 429, 526.

27. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 1789-1903* (Washington, 1903), I, 373, 575.

28. *Rebellion Records*, L, Pt. I, 693, 694, 731, 735, 750. On Dec. 12, 1861, the counties of Sonoma, Napa, Mendocino, Trinity, Humboldt, Klamath and Del Norte were constituted in a new military command, the District of the Humboldt, commanded by Col. Francis J. Lippitt, 2d Inf., Calif. Vols., with headquarters at Fort Humboldt. *Ibid.*, p. 760. Rosters of each California volunteer unit and some account of their operations are to be found in Richard H. Orton, *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion* (Sacramento, 1890).

29. Plat maps of Twp. 18 N., Range 17 W., and Twp. 18 N., Range 18 W., both Mount Diablo meridian, approved respectively Dec. 28, 1866, and May 14, 1869, and field notes for survey of boundary between those townships, 1866. L. A. Gray, *Map of the City of Fort Bragg*, 1915.

30. Lyman L. Palmer, *History of Mendocino County, California* (San Francisco, 1880), pp. 428-29, quoting an unidentified Ukiah newspaper as to the post's appearance in 1863; W. T. Fitch, "Fort Bragg, Mendocino County," in *The Northern Crown* (Ukiah, March 1907), III, no. 7, p. 7; Fort Bragg *Advocate*, June 26, 1889, and April 16, 1890. The soldiers' plot in the present Fort Bragg cemetery contains graves with military headstones enscribed, "Thos. Knudson, Co. D, 6th US Inf.," and "Jno. Cameron, Co. D,

2d Cal. Inf." Both organizations served at Fort Bragg. Cameron was "accidentally killed Aug. 7, 1862, at Fort Bragg, by a wagon turning over on him." Orton, *op. cit.*, p. 458. *Mendocino Herald* (Ukiah), July 11, 1862.

31. *Rebellion Records,* L, Pt. II, 61.

32. *Ibid.*, Pt. I, 19-21, 196, 257-63, Pt. II, 34; Fort Bragg *Advocate,* June 26, 1889.

33. *Rebellion Records,* L, Pt. II, 997, 1001.

34. Charles Maltby in *Report Comr. Ind. Affairs for the year 1866* (Washington, 1866), p. 91; Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

35. *Mendocino Independent Dispatch,* May 19, 1870; Fort Bragg *Advocate,* June 26, 1889; W. T. Fitch, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

36. Sacramento *Daily Bee,* Nov. 11, 1858; Sacramento *Daily Union,* Nov. 12, 1858.

37. John A. Stone, collector, *Put's Golden Songster* (San Francisco, 1858); Eleanora Black and Sidney Robertson, compilers, *The Gold Rush Songbook* (San Francisco, 1940), pp. 38, 39.

38. *Mendocino War,* pp. 54, 55; Sacramento *Daily Union,* Jan. 14, 1859.

39. MS letter, W. P. Carlin, camp near head of Russian River, Dec. 27, 1858, to Major [Edward Johnson], encl. 2 to letter recd. dept. Cal., Dec. 31, 1858, File J 39.

40. MS letter, E. Johnson, Dec. 27, 1858, to W. W. Mackall, letter recd. Cal., File J 39.

41. MS letter, W. P. Carlin, Dec. 27, 1858, to E. Johnson, encl. 3 to letter, E. Johnson, *op. cit.* A map of Carlin's route was encl. 1 thereto.

42. MS letter, E. Johnson, *op. cit.* The sawmill mentioned was run by water power and was built by Thomas Elliot. Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

43. File AGO., 26 J 1859.

44. Letter WD spec. staff, hist. div., May 9, 1947, to F. B. Rogers, encl. 2.

45. Fort Weller was located on Lot 8, Sect. 18, Twp. 17 N., Range 12 W., Mount Diablo meridian, on the bench east of the stream passing through that lot.

46. MS orders No. 1, camp headquarters, Russian River, Dec. 27, 1858; *Daily Alta California,* Jan. 20, 1859; *Sonoma County Journal* (Petaluma), Jan. 21, 1859; *Mendocino War,* pp. 54-57; Augustus G. Tassin, "Chronicles of Camp Wright," in *Overland Monthly,* 2d Ser., X, pp. 27-29.

47. *Sonoma County Journal,* May 27, 1859; June 10 and 24, 1859; July 22, 1859; Aug. 26, 1859. See also "List of Abandoned or Unoccupied Military Posts and Reservations in the Military Division of the Pacific," hq. mil. div. of Pac., San Francisco, Nov. 20, 1876, encl. to Doc. 2016—1876, letters recd., dept. of the Columbia.

48. *Mendocino War,* p. 56-60. The location of the blockhouse on the survey map, and as pointed out to the present writer by Albert Brown who lived at the site, was in the NW¼ of the NW¼, Sect. 32, Twp. 23 N., Range 12 W., Mt. Diablo meridian.

49. Journal 11th Sess. Calif. Sen., Apdx. No. 18, pp. 4-6; Tassin, *op. cit.*, p. 32; *Rebellion Records,* Pt. I, pp. 464, 465, 530, 537; *Medical History of Fort Wright,* MS, p. 1.

50. *Rebellion Records,* L, Pt. I, 1084. Pt. II, 92, 101, 162, 197, 237, 238, 250. Two other camps named Wright had been established in 1861, one near Oak Grove and the other near the Presidio of San Francisco. *Ibid.*, Pt. I, 794. George Wright as colonel assumed command of the department of the Pacific Oct. 20, 1861. He was appointed brigadier general and commanded that department until July 1, 1864. He commanded the district of California with headquarters at Sacramento until June 27, 1865, when he was assigned to command the department of the Columbia. In proceeding to Fort Vancouver he and his wife met death in the wreck of the *Brother Jonathan* near Crescent City, July 30, 1865. *Ibid.*, Pt. I, 666; Pt. II, 886, 1268; *Humboldt Times* (Eureka), Aug. 12 and 19, 1865. The remains of General and Mrs. Wright were interred at Sacramento (Sacramento *Daily Union,* Oct. 23, 1865).

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 219, 261-64, 289, 290, 310, 315. Detailed report of the investigation

appeared in the *Mendocino Herald* (Ukiah City), ending with issue of Jan. 9, 1863, and was also published by the *Herald* in a pamphlet offered for sale in that issue.

52. *Medical History of Fort Wright,* MS, p. 1; Fort Wright Plan (in National Archives); *Rebellion Records,* L, Pt. I, 203, 230, 231; Pt. II, 629, 805.

53. *Loc. cit.; Mendocino Herald,* May 29, 1863; June 12, 1863; Aug. 14, 1863; Sept. 18, 1863.

54. *Medical History of Fort Wright,* p. 1; *Napa Valley Register* (Napa), April 15, 1865; *Rebellion Records,* L, Pt. II, 1054, 1055, 1145.

55. *Ibid.,* pp. 950, 1001.

56. *Mendocino Herald,* July 21, 1865.

57. *Ibid.,* May 18, 1866; Oct. 19, 1866; Dec. 14, 1866; *Medical History of Fort Wright,* p. 2. The museum of anthropology, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, has the negative of a photograph of the brick building, No. 15-1278.

58. *Report on Ind. Affairs by the Acting Comr. for the year 1867* (Washington, 1868), p. 118.

59. *Mendocino Herald,* May 14, 1869; *Journal of the Military Service Institution,* XIV, 1137.

60. *Medical History of Fort Wright,* pp. 2-4; The Surgeon General's Office, *Circular No. 4* (Washington, 1870), pp. 451-452, and *Circular No. 8* (Washington, 1875), pp. 521-522; *Independent Dispatch* (Mendocino), May 5, 1870. The reservation was declared in *Executive Order* of April 27, 1869. It consisted of the W½, Sect. 1 and the E½, Sect. 2, Twp. 22 N., Range 13 W., Mount Diablo meridian.

61. Tassin, *op. cit.,* p. 263.

62. Salinas City *Index,* May 27, 1875; July 1, 1875.

63. Hq. Dept. Calif., *Special Orders No. 52,* 1875; Salinas City *Index,* July 1, 1875.

64. *U. S. Military Reservations* (Washington, 1916), p. 490.

65. Carpenter, *op. cit.,* p. 96; San Francisco *Call,* Mar. 9, 1892.

Selected Letters of Osgood Church Wheeler

With Introduction and Notes

By SANDFORD FLEMING

(Continued)

A VISIT TO COLOMA

To the American Baptist Home Mission Society;
published in *Home Mission Record*, II (Oct. 1850), 8.

San Francisco, June, 1850

When I last wrote you I had just returned from my monthly visit to the new church at San Jose. Two days after, I received the sad intelligence of the death of my *only fellow laborer*, Rev. A. Kallock.[32] I had already arranged to start on the 21st ult., for Coloma, to prepare the way for Bro. Prevaux. Just before leaving home, Bro. Capen arrived, and after free and frank conversation, it was decided that he should occupy the place made vacant by the death of Mr. K. [at Sacramento]. I left home at 4 o'clock P.M., in the steamer to Sacramento City, 150 miles, where I took a stage the next morning, leaving an appointment for Monday evening. Rode 50 miles to Coloma by stage, gave notice of my arrival and intention to preach the next day. We met in a building without a roof (a temporary floor being laid overhead). A good congregation was present in the morning, a better in the afternoon, and in the evening (though a theatre had just opened) very much larger than our building would hold. At the close of evening service, I told the congregation that I expected Rev. Mr. Prevaux and wife to arrive soon, and wished to know if the people of Coloma desired them to come and live in their midst. Remarks were made, and an expression taken by rising. And *such* a rising!! With such unanimity and such *spirit* I have seldom seen. I promised them the boon, dismissed the assembly, and received the hearty greetings of a good number of staunch citizens.

At 6½ Monday morning I again took the stage, and returned to Sacramento City. Met the brethren in the evening, and made arrangements with them to have Bro. Capen take the place, in that flourishing city, vacated by the death of Bro. Kallock. There is a little band of lovely brethren here organized as a *Society*. The *abortion* bearing the name of a "church," collected there last fall, is of course long since extinct.[33] The town has grown immensely since I visited it in November. The field, in point of importance and promise, has no superior in California, except San Francisco. The same day I reached home, I procured a passage to Sacramento for Mr. Capen, where he is now laboring for the advancement of Christ's kingdom.

PASTOR AND EXPLORING AGENT

[The following summary appears in the *Home Mission Record,* II (Sept. 1850), 2.]

San Francisco, July 1, 1850

Rev. O. C. Wheeler still continues to labor assiduously and successfully as pastor of the church in San Francisco, and as Exploring Agent of the Society in other portions of California. He had been much indisposed, but was regaining his health. He had recently raised by subscription about $10,000, the amount necessary to relieve his church of an embarrassing debt. The destitution, caused by the unexpected death of Rev. Mr. Kallock, at Sacramento City, is supplied by Rev. Mr. Capen, a graduate of Newton Theological Institution in 1849. Arrangements had been made for Rev. Mr. Grenell to occupy San Jose, on his arrival, where a church was organized; and for Rev. Mr. Prevaux to proceed to Coloma, some distance in the country. Mr. Wheeler, as earnestly as ever, implores the assistance of many more ministers, to cultivate that promising field, and shows in vivid colors the loss the cause has experienced from the want of a suitable meeting house, which they had desired to have sent them.

REPORT ON CHURCH AND LOCAL AFFAIRS

To Alexander M. Beebee, Editor
New York *Baptist Register,* XXVII (Dec. 19, 1850), 186.

San Francisco, Oct. 30, 1850

Bro. Beebee—I must acknowledge a want of reciprocity of action, if not of feeling on my part. It is a long time since I wrote you, and yet you write me every week. Nor need I say that the epistles of one, who has been my weekly counselor for near a score of years, are more than doubly welcome in this far-off land. May you long live to counsel the young and comfort the aged, bind up the broken in heart, and set those who contend, "at one again."

We have just closed the first denominational convocation in this State. On the 25th of September, a few brethren convened by request, at my house, and as the result of their deliberations, they agreed upon the calling of a Convention, which met in our church on the 25th of October. A sermon was preached by Bro. J. W. Capen, of Sacramento, and the Convention was organized, and proceeded to hear the report of a committee previously appointed to prepare a Constitution and Rules of Order, upon which, the other necessary steps being taken, an Association was duly organized.[34] We had reports upon the subjects of foreign missions, domestic missions, education, temperance, Sabbath-schools, and the Bible cause. Our session continued from Friday evening till Monday noon, the Sabbath being devoted exclusively to devotional purposes. The whole business and all the exercises, more than met the expectations of the most sanguine. Only two baptisms have occurred since our commencement in this territory; one here and one

at Sacramento. We have three churches: one here, numbering 21 members; one at Sacramento, numbering 19; and one at San Jose, numbering 15. Bro. J. W. Capen[35] is pastor at Sacramento, Bro. L. O. Grenell[36] at San Jose, and I am at this place. Bro. F. E. Prevaux is also laboring in a portion of this town, principally among seamen. These are all the churches in the State of our denomination, and these are all the Baptist ministers who give themselves to the work of the ministry. There has been a man here by the name of Brierly, but he has spent his time in mining, land speculation, boating...[37]

Before the two brethren—Grenell and Prevaux—arrived, my own constitution had yielded beneath an unreasonable pressure of work, and it is now nearly three months since I was able to perform my accustomed labors; but by the grace of God I am now fast regaining my strength. May it be given in just such measure, and continue just as long as will best subserve the divine purpose.

You are accustomed to hear all sorts of descriptions of this country, according to the circumstances, success or caprice of the writer, mingled with many honest and fair representations. Be it the work of others to write of the physical features, political aspects, and mineral wealth of the country, I speak at present only of the morals and religion. A certain man who was a minister when in "the states" recently appeared in a Boston paper, with an attempt to convince that there was a comfortable supply of Baptist ministers. He says, "San Jose, where I have been, has now in itself and vicinity, one Presbyterian, three Methodist, and three or four ordained Baptist preachers. All the preachers that I have named, with but few exceptions, have organized churches and stated congregations." Now the truth was then, that only the Presbyterian minister had an organized church among the whole number. Rev. Mr. Taylor, of the Methodist church in this place, had been there and organized a Methodist church which he took the oversight of and visited once a month, supplying it on other Sabbaths as best he could with "local preachers." I had been there and organized a Baptist church (at the request of brethren there) and supplied it once a month, which was the only preaching it had. There was not then nor is there now any other than these three churches in "San Jose and its vicinity." As to the "three or four ordained Baptist preachers" of whom he speaks, one was Bro. Joseph Morris, a good man of twenty years standing in the ministry, but now (since he came to California) engaged at his trade in accumulating enough to bring his numerous family to this coast. One was Bro. Rickets, a good "father in Israel," from Missouri, at work at his trade as a carpenter, and not preaching regularly anywhere. The third was Benjamin Brierly, who was engaged in running five vessels between this place and San Jose, and very seldom pretending to preach at all.

I have deemed it due to the truth to make this statement. He also states that the "Society connected with the church in this place, voted its pastor

a salary of $10,000 a year, but their pecuniary embarrassments have since compelled them to reduce the sum to $5,000." Now that is not the truth. The voting of the salary in the first place is correctly stated, but the reduction to $5,000 is not so. The rate of $10,000 was paid for five months, and then the pastor, in view of the great change in the prices of the articles of living, and especially in the reduction of rents, asked the society to reduce his salary for the remainder of the year to the rate of $5,000 per annum. Some of his best brethren begged him not to put it below $6,700, but he said I will risk it at $5,000, and the request was complied with.

It is true, our churches are small and feeble, but the Baptists of this place have actually raised nearly $20,000 during the year. Have now liabilities to only about one-fourth the amount they had a year ago, and are quite able to control them at pleasure. We are planning and arranging to pay for and erect a good and commodious house of worship, provided we can secure an agency in New York, of sufficient confidence in us and fidelity to the cause to send it to us. It is true, we have no revivals, technically so called. But it is also true, and every man given to the work of the ministry here has the happiness to know it, that multitudes are revived in the temper and spirit of their minds, renewed in their affections, and take hold of the work of the Lord with double energy, and some souls give cheering evidence of genuine "repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ." Our places of worship are full, and crowded to overflowing. Mine is 75 feet long, and covers an area of 2,500 square feet, and seats about five hundred comfortably; yet it is far too small. Our Sabbaths are more regarded and better observed, with every passing month. Our efficient Common Council, headed by our worthy and popular Mayor, (Hon. J. W. Geary,) unites with the editors of our six daily papers, and our nine religious societies and their pastors, for the support of law and order, virtue and safety, morality and religion. And under these auspices, we have indications of encouragement at nearly every turn of the rolling day. Our gold digging clergy also are fast burying themselves in their own rubbish, or fleeing from the contempt of a people who are too highly cultivated in intellect, and too firmly established in principle, and too piously inclined at heart, to submit to the teachings of such "double minded" men.

The cholera has at length reached us, but it is not epidemic. There is comparatively little in this place, and it probably will pass us lightly by. There is no general apprehension that it will spread here.

We have just celebrated the interesting triumph of truth, as exhibited in the admission of California to the Union. It took place on Tuesday last. The oration, of which I send you a copy, though some portions of it can not be appreciated by anyone not here, I think you will join me in saying, was a good one. The day was auspicious, the arrangements, and the order and beauty of the procession were to our hearts content. And though the

audience in the square listening to the oration, did not probably number over fifteen thousand, yet we had almost every respectable "nation and kindred, and tongue and people," and society and association under heaven represented. One object of great interest was the "pioneers," or "old Californians," i.e., those who emigrated before the gold excitement, headed by Capt. Grayson, "head and shoulders above all the people," clad in the same buckskin dress which he wore across the mountains in 1846, and bearing a beautiful banner, illustrating the surprise of the native Californian at the operations of the newly arrived. But not a whit behind the very chiefest, was the exhibition of the public school taught in our chapel,[38] nearly two hundred strong, all neatly clad and bearing a banner of pure white, proclaiming in red and blue, "First Public School of San Francisco." They were highly applauded, and assigned by our chief marshal the first station in front of the speaker's stand. I saw less intemperance than I have ever seen on any similar occasion in the older States. So much for the celebration.

But I have a sadder tale. Last evening, just as the steamer "Sagamore" was leaving our wharf for Stockton, her boiler burst, and made the most entire wreck, both of the boat and its crowd of passengers. The loss of life is not known, nor will it be on earth. In this land of strangers and of hurry, very few are acquainted with the movements of others; hence the utter impossibility of ascertaining the number, or who were on board. There were 22 belonging to the boat, and it is estimated that from 80 to 120 passengers stood upon the hurricane deck. They were blown in every direction except down. A large number of the killed and wounded have been found; but yet, from a variety of circumstances, we are compelled to fear that all have not yet been taken out. I have been busy all day in trying to comfort the mourner and aid in burying the dead, and I have several similar engagements for the morrow.

But I have already more than doubled the contemplated length of my letter, and will therefore desist. Asking your prayers for humility of heart, and consecration of soul and success in my labor. . . .

A BAPTISM IN THE BAY

To The American Baptist Home Mission Society;
published in *Home Mission Record*, II (June 1851), 40.

San Francisco, April 30, 1851

Since my last we have had unusually pleasant weather and a state of spiritual interest which is truly cheering. Our social prayer-meetings are well attended, and there is a manifest increase of attention to religious interests.

Last Lord's-day morning, at the close of service, our large congregation marched in procession to the foot of Stockton street, on the north beach, where we were joined by a large multitude of interested spectators, while

we attended to the beautiful, solemn, and significant ordinance of Baptism. The candidate was a lady of middle age. . . . We have received additions by letter each of the several past months, and we hope to have occasion soon to welcome others by the way of *Jordan*.[39]

Bro. Capen is now with me, and will (D.V.) supply my place during my absence of a few weeks. I expect to leave to-morrow for the South. I go to San Diego (about 500 miles,) and thence to San Pedro, Los Angeles, and other places. My principal object is the resuscitation of my exhausted energies. By the kindness of the Pacific Mail Steam Ship Company's agent, I am provided with a free passage both ways.

A VISIT TO SAN DIEGO

To Alexander M. Beebee, Editor
New York *Baptist Register*, XXVIII, No. 25, pp. 98-99.

San Francisco, May 31, 1851

Bro. Beebee—I perceive by the Register, that some people among you have a little interest and feel some solicitude concerning matters on the "Western slope." It was with a view of gratifying such, that I wrote you a little time since, concerning so many of the things in our State, as I thought duty would allow me to take time for. It has, until quite recently, been a very difficult task to write for the press on your side, not because of a paucity of news and incident, but because of the impossibility of conveying to strangers an idea of which they know nothing,—not because our friends in the older States did not *attend* to what we wrote, but because they could not appreciate a state of things entirely new,—hence, could not credit what we wrote. But the circumstances are changing. I learn that one of the speakers at the anniversary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, now just passed, was to address the audience upon the subject of California, Oregon and Utah.[40] Now, that brother is a man of good ideas and many facts, well arranged and happily expressed; but unless he has fared better in his sources of information than any Eastern paper whose columns I peruse, (and they are, not a few, not improminent) I know it must have been exceedingly amusing to any returned Californian, *au fait* in religious matters here, to listen to him. I look for a report of it with great interest. Could that brother have had the facts as they *are*, and placed confidence enough in them to believe *one-half* of them, and presumed enough upon the credulity of his audience to state one-half of what he believed, he would have produced a vast sensation. How to account for it, I know not; but the fact exists, that with all our efforts to give information, the great body of all who arrive here, like the great majority of journalists, who remain at home, are entirely at fault in reference to any good degree of intelligence concerning the new State and Territory on the Pacific. It would seem that because of a few outlandish characters who have been thrown into our

midst, the entire home population was disposed to believe us so near the thin-crusted pit, that a single careless step would puncture the shell, permit the flaming sulphur to burst forth, and turn the whole concern into a second and more magnificent "Asphaltites."

But I was going to give you some facts. My health having become somewhat impaired through increasing and arduous toil for two years, I left on board the steamer Oregon, on the last inst., for the south. The three steamship companies, whose vessels are plying here, proffered me each a free passage, and the two whose offer I enjoyed, (the one down and the other up,) treated me with that kindness and consideration which would only have been equaled by the third, had I also enjoyed their hospitalities. When absent about ten days, I learned that a fire had prostrated the business and destroyed the beauty of our city.[41] I at once stepped on board the steamer, then in the harbor of San Diego, and left for home. On the way up, we stopped at San Pedro, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and Santa Cruz. Ten days after the fire I reached home, and found more than four hundred new buildings completed, or in a greater or less state of forwardness, on the burnt district. All accounts would fail to make any sort of correct impression of the terrible devastation. *Nearly all the business part of the town was burned.* The loss can not be less than *twenty millions!*

Yet in all this burning, there was no loss of church buildings, nor has there ever been here. But churches and religious societies suffered terribly. So far as I am able to learn, I believe it is conceded on all hands, that my church and society have suffered very much more than any other. I have no means of very accurate calculation, but from what I do know, I think it safe to say, that the loss of property in the hands of the members of my congregation, exceeds half a million. Men of good judgment and intelligence express the opinion, that no Christian church and congregation ever before sustained so great a loss by any one calamity, as ours has in the recent fire.

Our friends, however, do not appear to regret so much the loss of their property, as their consequent inability to prosecute their design to build a more commodious house of worship. Our old shantee seats about five hundred, and is crowded full, but we must try to use it a little longer, although we thereby shut out one-half who desire to worship with us. We hope and believe that a land of Christians, whose every neighborhood is represented in our midst, will not forget us when supplicating a throne of grace.

The southern portion of our State is increasing in population but slowly, and many points not at all. Monterey has not as many inhabitants as it had two years ago. Santa Barbara has few, if any more, while it is questionable whether San Diego is not, on the whole, declining. The great interest appears to centre at the commercial and mining points.

The two great political parties have just held, each its first general Con-

vention in the State. Both convocations were distinguished for the good order and high-toned patriotism which pervaded their entire sittings. Peace and harmony were prominent characteristics. If either elects its candidate for Governor, the State will not be less fortunate than in its first choice and subsequent "accidency". Either will make a good Governor.

The Indian Commissioners are succeeding most admirably, and could we feel confident that no lawless white vagabonds would break the treaties, we should have little fear that the amicable relations now being established would ever be violated.

The cultivation of the soil is becoming an absorbing topic with large numbers, and will pay better than the average of mining. Of the agricultural *resources* of California, I will not write, for half what I know about it, would be twice as much as people in the Eastern States believe. New churches are being erected, and additional ministers are arriving in our midst, thus encouraging the hearts of those that remain, and giving bright hopes for the future.

NOTES

32. Rev. Amariah Kallock was already on the west coast at the time (Dec. 27, 1849) that the American Baptist Home Mission Society appointed him to the California field. For Capen and Prevaux, see notes 35 and 36, below.

33. Reference to this episode may be found in Clifford M. Drury, "Protestant Beginnings in California," this QUARTERLY, XXVI (June 1947), 171.

34. This was the San Francisco Baptist Association, the first Baptist Association in the state.

35. The American Baptist Home Mission Society appointed Rev. James Winchell Capen to the California field on Dec. 27, 1849. Three years later he united with the Episcopal Church.

36. Rev. Levi O. Grenell and Rev. Francis E. Prevaux were appointed on Feb. 28, 1850, and sailed from New York the first of June.

37. Wheeler gives an explanation of the difficulty between the two men in his *Story of Early Baptist History . . ., op. cit.*, pp. 36-37: "All the misunderstanding was caused by the tale-bearing and malicious misrepresentation of a few men who envied us both. . . ."

38. This was the first free public school in San Francisco, conducted by John C. Pelton.

39. Apparently the practice of open-air baptism continued for a number of years. As late as 1857 the First Baptist Church of San Francisco reports baptisms in the bay, although at that time they had "a substantial and commodious building."

40. Two addresses on "The Great West" were planned for this meeting, one of which was published but not delivered because of lack of time. The speakers were the Rev. J. S. Backus of New York City, and the Rev. T. R. Cressy of Indianapolis.

41. The frequent fires in some communities usually took their toll of the churches, and greatly increased the problems of the work.

Lust for Riches

A Spanish Nineteenth Century Novel of the Gold Rush and Its Sources

By Luis Monguio

In 1871-1872 appeared serially in Madrid, Spain, a two volume novel of over eleven hundred pages entitled *La Fiebre de Riquezas; Siete Años en California* [*The Lust for Riches; Seven Years in California*],[1] by a second-rate but rather popular writer, Julio Nombela y Tabares (1836-1919).

Although the main fictional characters of the story come to California from Spain and France and finally return to Europe, a good part of the events related in the novel occur in the California of the gold-rush days and a considerable portion of the work is devoted to California history and California historical and semi-historical characters.

Julio Nombela, the author, lived a life which could have been an excellent subject for one of his novels. As a matter of fact his best work is without a doubt his four volume *Impresiones y Recuerdos* (Madrid, 1910-1911), a collection of memoirs.

Born in 1936 in a family of very modest circumstances, he lived most of his childhood and adolescence from hand to mouth in Madrid, in the provinces, and in Madrid again. His formal education was scant, as he did not even finish high school. Later he studied dramatics for a short while at the Madrid Conservatory. After several attempts at a professional dramatic career and at newspaper work, Nombela left for Paris in 1860. There, after some hardships, he became a translator for the publishing house of Rosa Bouret which specialized in books for the Spanish and Spanish-American market. He also wrote for them a novel a month. In 1863, married to a Spanish girl, he returned to Madrid harboring political ambitions which finally came to naught. Meanwhile he had acquired a good reputation as a dependable writer of *novelas por entregas* (serial novels) and as a newspaperman; and working in both capacities he became quite prosperous. Around 1870 he was involved in the Carlist movement. He conspired in Madrid, visited Carlist headquarters in the North, and after the Carlist defeat he took part in the negotiation of the agreement between Gen. Ramón Cabrera and Alfonso XII.

Nombela returned definitively to Madrid in 1875. There he created the first Spanish news-letter and literary agency service, a publishing house and, in 1888, a successful weekly *La Ultima Moda*, and was also interested in

the promotion of theatrical enterprises. He lived in Madrid honored and respected until his death in 1919, at the age of eighty-three.

Julio Nombela's *La Fiebre de Riquezas* belongs to the type of serial novel so widespread in Spain, as elsewhere, in the middle of the nineteenth century. In Spain such novels appeared in newspapers or magazines or in independent installments and were issued by publishers who made a specialty of this sort of literature. They usually started baiting their possible subscribers by means of a lurid prospectus and one or two free installments of the forthcoming opus; their circulation boys would then record the subscriptions to the new work, and thereafter would make delivery to the homes of the bait takers, collecting from them the weekly price of subscription. The main skill required of the author was of course to end each installment on a note of suspense, so that the reader would eagerly await the next, just as did our serial movie-thrillers of a few years ago or as some of our comic strips attempt to do today.

There must have been a need for that sort of literature at the time, not only among the populace but also among people who, intellectually, should have known better. It is easy to understand that these exciting stories would provide a means of imaginative escape from the drudgery of long hours at factory benches or office desks. But it is less easy to understand how people who were in the midst of great affairs could scarcely wait for the arrival of the next installment of their favorite thriller. Nombela himself tells us[2] that the Spanish statesman Ríos Rosas, whose secretary he was for a short time, once kept a cabinet minister waiting half an hour while he devoured his morning installment of a lurid novel entitled *Satan's She-cousins!*

The present writer recalls finding in his own family attic in Spain a collection of carefully tied bundles of *novelas por entregas*—Fernández y González, Ortega y Frías, Dumas, Sue, Ponson du Terrail—each properly labeled in the neat handwriting of a seafaring great-grandfather whose asthmatic last years those novels had entertained.

It is evident that the serial novels were greatly enjoyed by that generation of readers at all social levels, and that they provided publishers, not to mention writers, with a great financial boon. In fact, Nombela does not hesitate to tell us, in his old-age memoirs, that this type of writing was responsible for one of his most prosperous periods:

> The nine years comprised between the beginning of 1864 and 1873 was a happy period in my public and private life. . . . I had met in Paris . . . Urbano Manini, the eldest brother of the publishers who had made so much money with the works of Fernández y González and Pérez Escrich, and who—when his brothers retired from the trade—created a publishing house whose main furnisher I was. . . . Each installment consisted of eight pages of number 9 or 10 type and each distribution consisted of eight installments. . . . The Manini Brothers first, and their brother Urbano afterwards, paid me five dollars for each *entrega* and the publisher Manero, of Barcelona, six. As that work required only very much imagination in order to stir and hold the interest of the readers, it was

not very difficult and in four or five hours one could write the equivalent of sixteen printed pages, which represented a daily wage—let us thus call it—of ten to twelve dollars a day.[3]

And when Nombela discovered that he could dictate to a stenographer instead of having to write longhand, he realized he had found a gold mine of his own because, as he says:

I was able to accept more work, and in one hour or one hour and a half at the most I dictated three *entregas*, that is to say, 24 pages, which brought me from fifteen to eighteen dollars a day and besides permitted me to attend to newspaper work.[4]

By this means he dictated, from 1865 to 1872, "30 volumes in 4° of 700 to 800 pages each, that is to say from 240,000 to 250,000 pages" and earned an average of "eighteen to twenty thousand pesetas a year,"[5] a fantastic sum for a writer, judging by the Spanish standards of his day.

Among the novels Nombela mentions as having been dictated to a stenographer appears our *La Fiebre de Riquezas*.[6] It was also one of the last serial novels he wrote, as he specifically states:

Afterwards he (Urbano Manini) printed under my name the novels *Mendigos y ladrones*, *La fiebre de riquezas*, and *Ignacio de Loyola*, and with the latter he ceased to bring out serial publications which, after the Revolution of 1868, entered a rapid period of decadence.... Toward the middle of the year 1872 ... I ceased to manufacture serial novels.... But it would have been an ingratitude on my part not to have mentioned this work which if on the one hand placed me in the humble class of the literary day laborers offered me on the other hand sufficient means to live with ease, and the satisfactions of a relative popularity which did not fail to be pleasant to me nor, at times, useful.[7]

It would be practically impossible here to give a résumé of its eleven hundred pages with its main plot and sub-plots and thrown-in asides, which the serial-novel publishers required from their authors in order to fill pages and pages of profit-bearing installments. Suffice it to say that all the usual ingredients of this sort of novel are present: the innocent beautiful young woman, the long-suffering mother, the depraved but later repentant father, the scheming Jew, the ruthless financier, the accommodating servant, the noble physician, the faithful and devoted friend, and so on and on. Before the author is through with them almost everybody either dies or marries.

What is interesting from the point-of-view of Californiana is the fact that the story, or rather the capricious will of the author, brings some of the main fictional characters to the bay of San Francisco just after the discovery of gold at Sutter's mill.

Nombela starts *La Fiebre de Riquezas* with the arrival at San Francisco of a French brigantine carrying either as passengers or as crew some of the novel's main characters. He devotes several pages to the description of the bay and of the deserted village; he tells how the new arrivals finally learn, through the confession of a sick sailor abandoned by his mates, about the recent gold-find at Sutter's mill. Then Nombela devotes several chapters

to the history of California from its discovery to the American occupation, including the background of Captain Sutter, the discovery of gold, the deeds of Murieta, etc., with a passing fanciful story about Andrés Pico, without forgetting in the meanwhile to keep his readers profusely posted on the past and present adventures of the personages he has brought from France and Spain to California.

As Nombela says in his memoirs that Alexandre Dumas was the first author who had made a lasting impression on him; that it was Dumas who had "awakened and enlivened the flight of his imagination"; and finally that Dumas, together with Lamartine and Alphonse Karr, had been "his literary foster parents and his masters,"[8] the obvious place to look for the sources of his *La Fiebre de Riquezas* was, first of all, in Dumas' well-known story, *Californie, Un An sur les Bords du San Joaquin et du Sacramento* (Brussels, 1852), entitled, in the second French edition, *Un Gil Blas en Californie* (Paris, 1861).[9] A page-by-page comparison shows not only striking cases of inspiration derived from Dumas, but of plain and unadulterated plagiarism on the part of Nombela. As George R. Stewart made clear in his study of *Un Gil Blas en Californie*,[10] Dumas in turn drew freely from several sources, among them Hypolite Ferry's *Description de la Nouvelle Californie* (Paris, 1850).

The Spanish novelist does not even bother to invent the name of the captain of the brigantine which brings his heroes to San Francisco "bergantin mercante . . . al mando del capitan Munráz" *(Fiebre*, I, 1). In Dumas' work, pp. 317-18, we find "ce brick solitaire qui fait voile pour San Francisco, et qui est commandé par le capitaine Péruvée [*sic*] Munraz," which in turn is taken by Dumas from Ferry's book, p. 308. The story of the ship's voyage and adventures is similar in Nombela, I, 3; Dumas, 318; and Ferry, 309. The description of San Francisco Bay by Dumas, p. 78, has directly inspired that of Nombela, I, 3. The speculations on the reasons for the deserted aspect of San Francisco on which Nombela elaborates, I, 5, "aquella ausencia de séres vivientes no podia explicarse como la consecuencia de un incendio ó de un ataque de los indios . . .," are the same indicated by Dumas, p. 319, "ce n'était cependant ni une guerre, ni un incendie, ni une surprise d'Indiens qui causait ce silence et cette solitude mortels," and before him by Ferry, pp. 311-12. The scene in Dumas, p. 320, when Munraz hails an old Mexican sailor who tells him that the inhabitants of the village and the sailors of the abandoned ships have gone to the Sacramento River to look for gold, is reproduced by Nombela, I, 30. Dumas had taken it almost verbatim from Ferry, p. 312. But in this case one page of Dumas gave Nombela the opportunity to stretch the event with its preparatory incidents into two chapters of over twenty pages.

To illustrate the amplifying technique of Nombela it may be interesting

to compare side by side the French texts of Ferry, and of Dumas, with that of our Spanish author in the crucial scene:

Ferry, p. 312:

"Que sont devenus les habitants de San Francisco?" s'écrièrent à la fois le capitaine et l'equipage.

"Ils sont tous partis pour le pays de l'or," leur fut-il répondu, "il y en a des montagnes, il y en a des vallées; il n'y a qu'à se baisser et ramasser (bajarse y coger nada mas)."

Dumas, p. 320:

"... que sont devenus les habitants de San Francisco?"

"Eh!" répondit le vieux Mexicain, "ils sont tous partis pour le pays de l'or."

"Et ou est ce pays?" demanda en riant le capitaine Munraz.

"Sur les bords du Sacramento; il y en a des montagnes, il y en a des vallées; il n'y a qu'à se baisser et ramasser...."

Nombela, I, p. 30:

"*Dónde están los habitantes de San Francisco?*" preguntó el capitan.

"*Todos han partido.*"

"*Adónde?*"

"*A las orillas del Sacramento.*"

"Con qué fin?"

"Pues qué, no lo sabeis?"

"No, habla."

"*Aquel es el país del oro.*"

"Del oro?" gritaron todos.

"Sí, las arenas del rio están llenas de oro, y los que han descubierto esta riqueza *tienen allí montañas de este metal,* que con la mayor facilidad del mundo le han separado de la arcilla. *No hay mas que bajarse para recoger* todo el oro que uno quiere...."

In translation, these excerpts read:

Ferry, p. 312:

"What has become of the inhabitants of San Francisco?" exclaimed in unison the captain and the crew.

"They have all left for the gold country," was the answer. "There are mountains of it; there are valleys of it. One has only to stoop and scoop it up."

Dumas, p. 320:

"... what has become of the inhabitants of San Francisco?"

"Ah," answered the old Mexican, "they have all left for the gold country."

"And where is that country?" asked Captain Munraz laughing.

"On the banks of the Sacramento. There are mountains of it; there are valleys of it. One has only to stoop and scoop it up...."

Nombela, I, p. 30:

"Where are the inhabitants of San Francisco?" asked the Captain.

"All have left."

"Where have they gone?"

"To the banks of the Sacramento."

"What for?"

"Why, don't you know?"

"No, speak up."

"That is the gold country."

"Gold?" shouted all.

"Yes, the sands of the river are full of it; and those who have discovered this wealth,

have mountains of the metal there, which they have separated from the clay with the greatest of ease. One has only to stoop to scoop up all the gold one wants . . ."

The italicized portions of the Spanish text are indubitably translated from the Dumas text. All the rest is "padding." As the writer of a *novela por entregas* was paid on the basis of space, he was interested in inflating his story as much as possible. One line of text consisting in a single word was as remunerative to him as one line of many words, and therefore he used and abused questions, exclamations, monosyllables, etc., to lengthen his pages. F. Hernández Girbal, in his biography of Manuel Fernández y González[11] tells how this most popular of the Spanish serial-novel writers had once instructed his stenographer, Don Tomás Luceño—who later became a successful playwright himself, and who had told the story to Girbal—about the proper manner of setting his text with many periods and many paragraphs, precisely for the purpose of padding the length of a page.

Nombela relies on Dumas' text, often simply translating it page after page, to tell the history of California since its discovery. For instance, Dumas' pages 83 to 95 are translated with very slight variations, suppressions, or additions, into I, 36-43 of Nombela's book. From I, 44 on, although Nombela in the main follows Dumas, he nevertheless begins to add paragraphs of his own, especially when setting out the opposition between the Latin population of California and the North Americans. For example, page 97 of Dumas is translated into I, 44 of Nombela, but followed in the latter by a lyrical page of his own about Andrés Pico. Then Dumas' pages 98 to 105 are translated into Nombela's I, 46-51.

When Nombela finally starts dealing with Captain Sutter, at first he follows Dumas' text and simply translates portions of it, but he soon begins to add more and more ampliatory and romantic notes. In general, Dumas' pages 105 to 110 are translated into I, 57-65 of Nombela's. And there the Spanish author ceased to follow *Un Gil Blas en Californie*.

It should be noted that Nombela followed Dumas' text, including the modifications of its own sources. He followed Dumas even in his mistakes, which proves that Nombela was copying from his idol and not directly from his idol's sources. For instance, Ferry on page 34 of the "Description" correctly calls one of the Mexican governors of California, Micheltorena; Dumas in *Un Gil Blas en Californie*, page 97, incorrectly calls him, Michel Torena; and Nombela, following Dumas, "translates" it into Spanish as Miguel Torena!

After he ceases to follow Dumas' text, the Spanish novelist see-saws between Europe and America for a couple of hundred pages dealing with the adventures of his main fictional characters. And when, at I, 280, Nombela writes again of Sutter's adventures, the fictional impetus of the intervening pages sweeps him on to the description of a romantic love-affair between Sutter and an Indian maiden, Guagiba. Although apparently Sutter was

not impervious to Indian beauty,[12] we have not found a printed source which could have been available to Nombela as a basis for Guagiba's story. It does have some points of similarity with the sad story of Anashe's daughter, emphasized by Zollinger,[13] but Nombela could not have known in 1871 the then-unpublished *New Helvetia Diary* (San Francisco, 1939). The story of Guagiba should therefore be ascribed to the novelistic imagination of our author. Even the girl's name does not appear to be a likely Indian name. A few lines translated from the Spanish text will give the reader an idea of Nombela's tone on this occasion. The young woman has just revealed to Sutter a plot engineered by her father and other Indians against their Swiss master, and she has also declared that she loves him. Sutter speaks:

"Blessings upon you, bewitching woman!"—said Sutter, overcome by the emotion which the Indian maiden inspired in him—"I shall know how to reward your affection and your loyalty; you shall be the queen of my heart. What do your origin or your race matter if you are capable of understanding me, if you make for me the immense sacrifice of denouncing your own brothers? I promise you, beautiful young woman, to reward your heroism with the tenderness you deserve." Guagiba, upon hearing these words, full of joy, and with a great show of affection and veneration, kissed Sutter's hand.

After further discussing the plot and arranging another meeting with Guagiba, Sutter dismisses the young woman:

"Now, leave."
"Let your slave kiss your feet," said Guagiba bowing respectfully.
"No, my love; come to my arms," said Sutter.
And warmly embracing her:
"Shall you be mine?", he added.
"Until death! . . .," answered the young woman.
And she withdrew.[14]

From this imagined affair, on, including another one with a French duke's daughter, the story of Sutter in our novel becomes, as far as we can gather, the product of Nombela's fancy. As a matter of fact, the adventures of Sutter's French duchess form one of the longest (several hundred pages) sub-plots of the novel. We are told of the French noblewoman's life during the Legitimist emigration in England, and of her work as the headmistress of a girls' school in southern France. Later she is the victim of a passionate financier-adventurer who, in the process of pretending to help her join Sutter in America, almost rapes her in a Parisian suburban house. Finally, we meet her again as a sister of charity in a California hospital at the deathbed of the poor Indian maid Guagiba; with the clairvoyance of the dying, the latter joins mademoiselle's hand to Sutter's. To the reader's relief, the duchess, after Guagiba's death and after being released from her religious vows, finally marries Sutter. There is no inkling in the whole *La Fiebre de Riquezas* that Nombela even suspected the existence of Sutter's real wife, Anna Dübeld, nor of his children by her. If he did, he must have dismissed

them as unsuitable to the romantic needs of his novel. By the way, Nombela consistently calls Sutter not John Augustus, but Charles.

After such flights of fancy we find Nombela returning to a written source for other information on California. In the second part of the first volume of *La Fiebre de Riquezas*, he introduces the California outlaw, Joaquín Murieta, and later interweaves the bandit's adventures with those of the main fictional characters of the book. Finding a great bandit available for his story must have pleased Nombela, to say nothing of his publisher and his public, as the Spanish readers of *novelas por entregas* lapped up the innumerable books dealing with the exploits of their own native brigands, José María, Los Siete Niños de Écija, and others. Furthermore, following the pattern of the Murieta legend, our author considers him—especially at the beginning of his career—a patriotic Mexican of Spanish blood wishing to avenge upon the North Americans the harm they had caused him personally and the indignities they had imposed on the Spanish-speaking population, and dreaming also of reconquering California for Mexico. Nombela, nevertheless, being a pious and moral person, describes the quick deterioration of Joaquín into plain criminality, with its final punishment.

The source of Nombela's information seems to have been *The Life of Joaquin Murieta, The Brigand Chief of California*, published in San Francisco at the office of the *California Police Gazette* in 1859.[15] In the parts in which Murieta is not involved with the fictional characters of Nombela's novel, there is no substantial difference between the 1859 *Police Gazette* version of his story and the Spanish book of 1871-72. And often there is indubitable plain copy and translation of the English text into Spanish.

Although it is now known through Franklin Walker's study of Ridge's *Life of Joaquin Murieta*[16] that the 1859 *Police Gazette* version is based upon Ridge's (1854) account, "altered in sequence, occasionally garbled in text, and amended in many ways," comparison shows clearly that Nombela did not know Ridge's early publication and followed the *Police Gazette* text of 1859.

In effect, Nombela's story of Murieta follows the 1859 book in the Joaquín-married-to-Carmela group of versions, while Ridge's appears the fountainhead of the Joaquín-and-his-mistress-Rosita group. Other details in Nombela appeared in the *Police Gazette* account but not in the 1854 edition of Ridge's work.

Something is prefixed to this story by Nombela on his own hook, the story of Murieta's family. He has, of course, to claim them for Spain and for the Royalist party. According to Nombela's story, a young Basque, José Murieta, emigrated to Mexico in the middle of the eighteenth century. He secured employment in a business house at Vera Cruz and with his savings he later established himself in the druggist business in Mexico City. He married a countrywoman of his who had gone to Mexico as a servant,

and between the two of them they laid the basis of an important fortune. Their son, Joaquín Murieta, became an official in the Spanish viceroy's office, and during the days of the independence movement was a member of the Peninsular party. He was a protégé of the viceroy and married the daughter of a Spanish army colonel, Villalva. Of this marriage two sons were born, Carlos and Joaquín Murieta (our bandit). After the victory of the Mexican independentists, old Joaquín Murieta lost his fortune and retired to a farm in Sonora. It is from Sonora that he sent his children to Mexico City seeking for them the favor of an old friend, President López de Santa Anna. Joaquín stayed in Mexico while Carlos left for California (*Fiebre*, I, 358-359).

From the moment of the return of Joaquín to Sonora, the Nombela story keeps following the pattern of the 1859 *Police Gazette* account of Murieta's adventures. Nombela, who has to fill as many *entregas* as possible, embellishes and amplifies the Murieta story, but he follows closely the "facts" told in the 1859 *Police Gazette* book (abbreviated below to *PG*), as can be easily shown by a page-by-page comparison:

PG, 3 = *Fiebre*, I, 377-78 and 349-50; *PG*, 4 = *Fiebre*, I, 352-55 and 380-81; *PG*, 5 = *Fiebre*, I, 381, 400-403, 411, and 423; *PG*, 6 = *Fiebre*, I, 443; *PG*, 8 = *Fiebre*, I, 471; *PG*, 12-13 = *Fiebre*, II, 497; *PG*, 15 = *Fiebre*, II, 498-99; *PG*, 17 = *Fiebre*, II, 501-502; *PG*, 18 = *Fiebre*, II, 502-503; *PG*, 19 = *Fiebre*, II, 503-506; *PG*, 112 = *Fiebre*, II, 540-41; *PG*, 114 = *Fiebre*, II, 541-42; *PG*, 116 = *Fiebre*, II, 542.

Nombela introduced several interesting changes in the Murieta story. For instance, in the *Police Gazette* version, page 5, Joaquín's wife is raped and killed by a band of Americans, while in *La Fiebre de Riquezas* the schemer of it all is a particularly hateful American, a "Mr. Clack," who later is murdered by Murieta (*Fiebre*, I, 391-405, 459-64). In the *Police Gazette* book, page 8, a Mr. Clark, deputy sheriff of San Jose, is assassinated by Joaquín, but his murder bears no relation to Carmela's death.

Pages 9-11 of the *Police Gazette* account deal with the "Clarina story," while Nombela suppresses all reference to any new love of Joaquín. There is no Clarina in *La Fiebre de Riquezas* to make him forget Carmela.

The assassination of "Gen. Bean" is a brutal murder in the American account (p. 19), while in Nombela the death of "Beam" is so embellished as to constitute a deed of military heroism on the part of Murieta (*Fiebre*, II, 503).

Nombela used only the materials presented in the first three chapters and in the end of the last (or eighth) chapter of the *Police Gazette's Life of Joaquin Murieta*. The intervening chapters of this book are a rather detailed account of plain murder and are substituted for in Nombela's work by the interweaving of Murieta's adventures with those of the main characters of the novel.

Just to give an example of the close relationship of the 1859 book and

the Spanish work, we may compare a passage which shows direct translation. Joaquín has just killed his first American, and exclaims:

Police Gazette, p. 6:

"Now, thus have I commenced this work of death! ... thus have I lain one of my base oppressors at my feet, and having so initiated my hand and heart, shall know no rest nor peace until every one of them is blotted from the earth...."

Fiebre, I, 443-44:

"–Hé aquí comenzada mi venganza! ... Hé aquí uno de mis opresores ... de mis verdugos ... sin aliento á mis pies! ... Ahora que saben ya mi corazon y mi mano lo que tienen que hacer, es preciso no darles paz; no concederles un instante de reposo hasta que haya exterminado al último de tan inícuous tiranos!"

There is no such passage in Ridge's version.

At the other end of the book, we may also compare Joaquín's last words:

Polize Gazette, p. 112:

"You have taken me by surprise; but I die content–I am sufficiently avenged."

Fiebre, II, p. 541:

"–Me habeis sorprendido,–esclamó;–no importa. Matadme; muero contento porque me he vengado bastante de vosotros."

There can be no doubt that the Spanish words are based on the 1859 text. Ridge has Murieta say more simply: "Don't shoot any more–the work is done."

Besides the two books–Dumas' *Un Gil Blas en Californie* and the *California Police Gazette's The Life of Joaquin Murieta*–which are the greatest sources of Nombela's knowledge of California, and which he never acknowledges in his novel, Nombela specifically mentions and quotes, this time using quotation marks, several minor sources. For instance, in Volume 1 of *La Fiebre de Riquezas*, pages 316-17, he states: "The *Times* of New York said in November 1848 ..." And he next gives five short paragraphs whose origin we have been unable to trace. But it is evident that they could not have come from the New York *Times* which only started publication on Thursday, September 18, 1851.

Then in I, 317-18, Nombela quotes from Larkin's letter to Secretary of State James Buchanan, dated Monterey, June 28, 1848. It is a poor translation. This letter was of course well known and widely printed in Europe.

On page 319 of the same volume, Nombela says, "The French *Illustration* of December of the same year wrote the following," and he inserts a quotation filling ten pages of his book *(Fiebre*, I, 319-28). This quotation is a literal translation into Spanish of part of an article entitled "La Californie d'après les documents américains," signed by V. de Bellune, which appeared in Paris in *L'illustration, Journal Universel* (XII, No. 312, February 17, 1849), 390.

Finally, on I, 328 of *La Fiebre de Riquezas*, Nombela says: "The *Morning Chronicle* of London, a little later, astonished its readers with this marvelous news." There follows a quotation occupying four and a half pages *(Fiebre*,

I, 329-33). As a matter of fact, the text used by Nombela in this quotation comes, word for word, not from the London *Morning Chronicle*[17] but from an article entitled "Noticias de las Californias," published (without indication of origin) in the Spanish magazine *La Ilustracion, Periódico Universal*, of Madrid (I, No. 21, July 21, 1849), 167.

There is a piece of fantastic Californiana in *La Fiebre de Riquezas* which in closing I should like to mention. Nombela tells a long story about Andrés Pico, whom he calls the California Massaniello *(Fiebre*, I, 44). He has Pico sent by the Americans as a prisoner of war to Washington, D. C. (I, 51), when it is well known that he remained free after the Cahuenga capitulation. In Washington the Californian is received by "the then President, Jefferson" (I, 91), Jefferson who had died in 1826, twenty years before the California conquest. Pico is then jailed "in the Capitol" (I, 97), but escapes with the help of a woman and returns to California to fight again for its freedom (I, 99-140). He is finally assassinated by an American agent near Sutter's Fort (I, 200). In real life, Andrés Pico, a landowner, a bon-vivant and even a state senator under the American flag, lived in California until his death February 14, 1876. If he ever read the 1871-72 Nombela novel, he must have had a queer sensation.

In résumé: Julio Nombela's *La Fiebre de Riquezas*, published in Madrid in 1871-72, derives its material on California mainly from two unacknowledged sources: Alexandre Dumas' 1852 *Californie* (edition of 1861, *Un Gil Blas en Californie)*, and the 1859 *California Police Gazette* version of *The Life of Joaquin Murieta.* Other minor sources are Larkin's letter of June 28, 1848, and press articles such as those of the French *Illustration* of February 17, 1849, and the Spanish *La Ilustracion* of July 21, 1849. Finally, one should not forget the "very much imagination" of Julio Nombela, its author.

NOTES

1. "Urbano Manini, Editor/ La Fiebre de Riquezas/ Siete años/ en California/ Descubrimiento del oro y explotacion de sus inmensos filones/ Historia dramática en vista de datos auténticos é interesantes relaciones de los mas célebres viajeros/ por/ Don Julio Nombela/ Tomo I/ Administracion/ Calle de San Bernardo, Núm. 11./ Madrid.- 1871/" (Front., Plates, 20 cm., 547 pp.). The title page of the second volume is exactly like that of the first except for: "Tomo II/ Administracion/ Calle de Serrano, Núm. 14./ Barrio de Salamanca/ Madrid.- 1872./" (Plates, 20 cm., 580 pp.).

2. Julio Nombela, *Impresiones y Recuerdos*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1910-1911), III, 296-98.

3. Nombela, *Impresiones*, III, 319, 320, 322.

4. *Ibid.*, III, 325.

5. *Ibid.*, III, 326, 327.

6. *Ibid.*, III, 326.

7. *Ibid.*, III, 358.

8. *Ibid.*, I, 93; III, 160, 161.

9. It is the 1861 edition, *Un Gil Blas en Californie*, which has been used for the purposes of this paper, and all references hereinafter are to it.

10. George R. Stewart, Jr., "Dumas *Gil Blas en Californie*. A Study of Its Sources," this QUARTERLY, XIV (June 1935), 132-46.

11. F. Hernández Girbal, *Una Vida Pintoresca, Manuel Fernández y González* (Madrid, 1931), 199-200.

12. James Peter Zollinger, *Sutter, The Man and His Empire* (New York, 1939), 120-22, 223-24.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 230-31.

14. Nombela, *La Fiebre de Riquezas,* I, 296-97.

15. We have used the reprint made by The Grabhorn Press, San Francisco, 1932, and all references are to it.

16. Franklin Walker, "Ridge's *Life of Joaquin Murieta*—The First and Revised Editions Compared," this QUARTERLY, XVI (Sept. 1937), 256-62, 261.

17. Mr. Angel Giménez Cuende of London kindly checked the Nombela quotation against the 1848, 1849, and 1850 files of the London *Morning Chronicle* at the periodical repository of the British Museum. California news was not infrequently encountered, but none corresponded to the alleged quotation.

William Davis Merry Howard

By His Granddaughter,

Gertrude Howard Whitwell

(Continued)

Some forty years after his death, the San Francisco *Bulletin* of April 3, 1897 (p. 12, col. 4), published a special article on Howard. The writer mentions that Howard built and owned house-property all over the city, "some of which, the pretty little cottages on Mission Street, for example, remain as mementoes [*sic*] *to* this public-spirited citizen." The same article describes the aid given to Jos. A. Rowe who came here in 1850 with an equestrian exhibition. Rowe was a pioneer circus man. Howard fended off the sheriff, purchased or chartered a brig on which he shipped all the circus and menagerie belongings, including Rowe and his wife, and started them off for the Sandwich Islands, and there the concern made so much money that Rowe was enabled to continue the voyage to Australia. Rowe returned to San Francisco in Howard's absence, paid all advances, and brought him "a very handsome and valuable present—a unique design wrought out in Australian gold."

I have given an outline of my grandfather's business career in the seventeen years that he lived in California, together with his land-grant testimony and quotations about him from the newspapers. It might be well at this point to speak of his personal life and his associations with his family.

W. D. M. Howard's first wife went back to Honolulu in the winter of 1848 hoping to regain her health, but after a few months she died there in giving birth to a child. They are both buried in the cemetery in Honolulu and over their graves he erected a fine monument that is standing today.

The story told me by my father about my grandfather's second marriage, and which was always laughingly recounted by my grandmother, was that W. D. M. Howard had gone to the waterfront in San Francisco where a vessel from Valparaiso was about to arrive. Among the first to debark were my great-grandfather, Joseph Henry Poett (a physician from London), and his three daughters, Agnes, age sixteen, Julia, and Sarah, and a son, Alfred. My grandfather Howard stepped forward and took Agnes Poett's hand, to assist her in landing. It was love at first sight and they were married in the summer of 1849. An undated letter just before their marriage is full of the "arrangements" he was making until the time when, as he said, "you will really be mine."

In April 1853 Howard returned again to Boston by the isthmus route, taking his wife and two sons, William Henry and Frederick, to visit the

family. The San Francisco *Herald* for April 17, 1853, says, under Topics of the Day:

> The mail steamer of this morning takes from us on a visit to the Atlantic States and Europe, W. D. M. Howard, Esq., a gentleman whose life for the last twelve years has been passed in California, and whose enterprise, intelligence and worth have contributed in no small degree to the advancement of San Francisco. Among all our citizens there is not one more warmly esteemed, or whose departure could cause more universal regret. His upright and honorable character, his amiability and kindness of heart have won for him a lasting place in the affections and regard of his fellow citizens. A number of his friends united in tendering Mr. Howard the compliment of a dinner, previous to his departure ... at the Irving House on Friday night.... Among the invited guests present were Mr. Moore, member of the Assembly from Nevada, and Mr. F. H. Teschmacker [*sic*], another old Californian....

W. D. M. Howard and his wife were joyfully welcomed by the family and their many friends, but disaster overtook them during the summer of that year. They were staying at the Ocean House in Swampscott, which was then as now a large and fashionable hotel. My grandparents had gone for a drive in the buggy and when they returned they found the hotel in commotion. The manager stopped them in the lobby and told them that guests had heard screams coming from the room where their two children were. The attendants broke down the door, when the dreadful scene inside became all too clear. The nurse had been drinking the cologne from my grandmother's dressing-table. My father, who was stronger, had got away from the nurse and had hid himself under the bed[8]; but little Freddy she held by the skirts and was banging his head against the wall. He was dead, and my father had been badly beaten before he managed to hide. The woman was tried and placed in an asylum.

This appalling tragedy's effect on Mrs. Howard's own health can be imagined, and in August of 1854 Howard sent her abroad for a few months' travel. His letters written to her from Weston, Massachusetts, during that fall show his own state of mind and the condition of his health, and the relief he found in making plans for developing his property on the San Francisco peninsula. His purchase of the 6,430-odd acres comprising the San Mateo Rancho is recorded among the documents in the file of land-grant Case 409 ND, and I am giving a résumé of the contents of the file somewhat in detail, as there are instances of misinformation in the published accounts.

On April 23, 1847—according to Howard's petition (at p. 5 in the file), presented to the commission through his attorney, James Wilson—Cayetano Arenas (a minor and therefore acting through his father, Luís Arenas) had conveyed the ranch to Henry Mellus and W. D. M. Howard, together with the original papers. Pico's grant, from the testimony both of Cayetano and Luís Arenas (at pp. 14-15, 17) on March 10, 1853, as well as from Pío Pico's own statement (at p. 27), taken in Los Angeles and filed May 5, 1854, had been made to the son in May 1846, in compensation for his work as a

clerk in the governor's secretary's office. Father and son in their testimony confirmed the sale to Mellus and Howard in 1847. During the hearing, Luís Arenas said he had been prevented from taking possession of the grant himself, from fear of the Americans at that time.

On June 20, 1850, Mellus, according to the petition, sold his title and interest in the ranch to Howard, who had since held it in peaceable possession. Howard filed his claim with the land commission on February 7, 1853. It will be recalled that this was the month directly following the January 19th on which he had testified in five separate land-grant cases in one day.

On February 23, 1853 (date of filing), William H. Clark, an attorney in the Wells Building at the corner of Clay and Montgomery, testified (at pp. 8-11) to the destruction of the original grant papers—left previously at his office by Howard—during the great fire of May 30, 1851. He testified, further, that he "first saw the Rancho of San Mateo in the Spring of 1851 when Mr Howard was in possession of it."

Henry F. Teschemacher, who said he was thirty-three and had lived in California eleven years, testified on April 13, 1853 (at p. 13). He had been a clerk of Mellus at the time and was "intimate with the business of both Mellus and Howard." Teschemacher placed Howard's occupation of the rancho earlier than Clark had done:

> As early as I know of any occupation of this Ranch was in 1848 when Mr Howard put horses upon it, but to what further extent he used or occupied the place prior to 1850 I do not know. Since that time it has been improved by a large house etc and fencing to a considerable extent as well as cultivation, being stocked with horses cattle hogs and sheep.

Joseph L. Folsom (at p. 18 ff.) was called with reference to the destruction of the *Book of Spanish Records* in his office during the May 1851 fire. It had been put into his hands by a staff officer of Gen. Persifer F. Smith, Folsom said, but as its synopses concerned grants, to the best of his recollection, from 1837 to 1844, it was not applicable to the Howard case, except as an example of the destruction of documents during the May fire.

Nicholas De Peyster's testimony at page 36 contains information on Dr. Poett, my great-grandfather:

> There was a dwelling house put up by Dr Poet [*sic*] the father-in-law of said Howard as I understood for said Howard though I am not certain whether it was for him or for him and Mellus with whom he was then in partnership in business. Dr Poet moved into the house with his family after it was finished. *Question:* How, by whom, and for whom was it occupied previous to that time? *Answer:* The place was occupied by myself [De Peyster] from Sept 23, 1849 till after Howard's people came there. I had a store and public house on the place and I had two partners from my first settlement there till May 1850....

José de la Cruz Sánchez (who had filed his claim, Case 178 ND, for two square leagues in San Mateo County on March 1, 1853; and, to anticipate,

had it rejected by the commission September 19, 1854—see Ogden Hoffman, *Reports of Land Cases . . .*, San Francisco, 1862, App., p. 92) testified on March 21, 1855 (Case 409, pp. 29-32), regarding the adobe on the north side of San Mateo Creek. He said that he had known the Rancho San Mateo "ever since I was a small boy. I have lived," he said, "about a league and a mile from its nearest boundaries to my father's house." He didn't know how old the adobe was, but thought it had been there "when the country was under the rule of the King of Spain. . . . In 1846 some Indians were living in it who were supported by me." As shown in the accompanying map by my great-uncle, Alfred Poett, civil engineer, the rancho of the "Señores Sánchez" formed the boundary of the Howard ranch on the north.

At page 60 of Case 409 ND, and labeled "H. H. No. 1," is transcribed the English translation (filed Sept. 29, 1854) of the deed executed by Cayetano Arenas of Stockton on July 29, 1851:

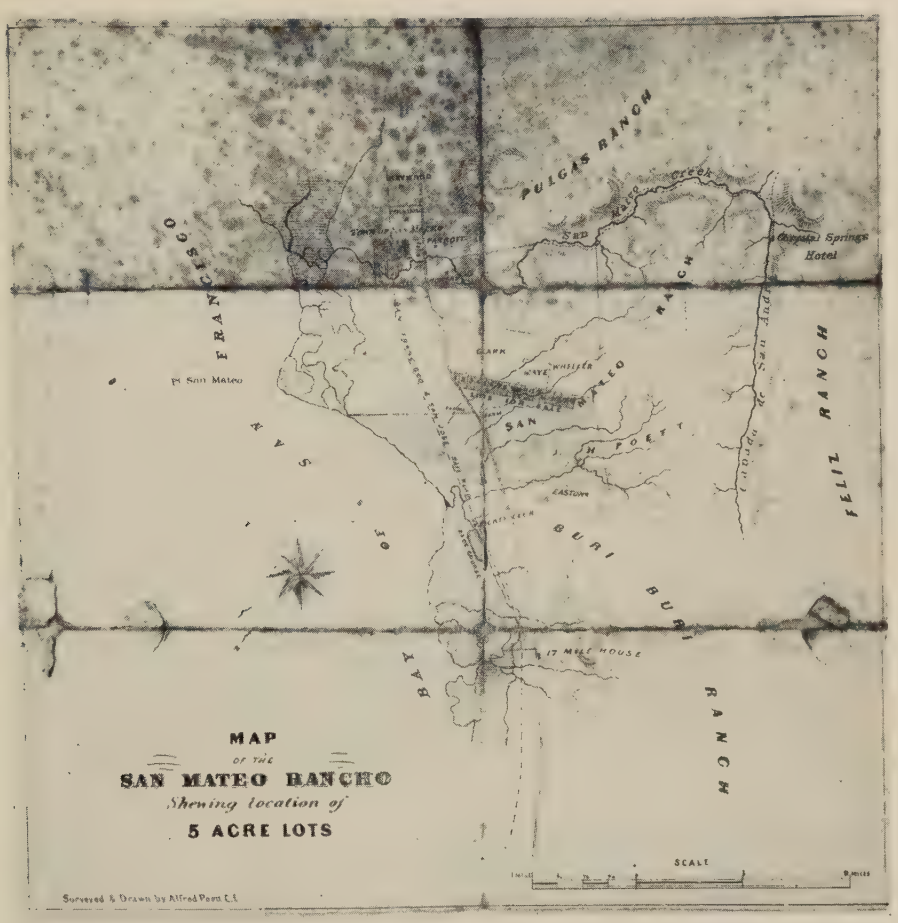
Cayetano Arenas having sold and transferred to Guillermo D. M. Howard of San Francisco in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty six [seven?] the said Rancho for the sum or price of one thousand five hundred dollars to him then paid by the said Guillermo D. M. Howard to the satisfaction of the said Cayetano Arenas at which time the said Cayetano Arenas was a minor not of age; for and that being now of age for and in consideration of the said one thousand five hundred dollars to him paid and one dollar to him the said Cayetano Arenas this day paid by the said Guillermo D. M. Howard the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged.

My great-uncle, George H. Howard, testifying on February 12, 1857, at page 161, said that he was thirty and a resident of San Francisco; that W. D. M. had died on January 19, 1856, in San Francisco; that the widow and the son (my father, William Henry Howard) "have been residing in San Francisco or on the said Rancho since the decease of the said W. D. M. Howard." Testifying further, at page 162, he said that W. D. M. had expended not less than $80,000 on improvements—"buildings, fences, planting of trees and ornamental grounds, etc."

Two more quotations from the file of Case 409 remain to be given, as a conclusion to the four years of litigation since the day Howard filed his claim with the land commission on February 7, 1853. The first occurs at page 164 and bears the filing-date of March 23, 1857: it is a declaration that the case is to be "reviewed and prosecuted in the names of Agnes Howard Executrix—Henry F. Teschemacher & George H. Howard Executors of the last will & Testament of the said Wm. D. M. Howard Deceased. . . ." The second (on page 168 of the file, with date of April 6, 1857), says:

On motion of the District Attorney it is hereby ordered adjudged and decreed that the appeal taken from the decision of the U. S. Land Commission in this case be dismissed, and that Agnes Howard Executrix, Henry F. Teschemacher and George H. Howard Executors of Wm. D. M. Howard deceased have leave to proceed under the decree of the said Commission heretofore rendered in favor of said WDM Howard, as under Final Decree.

[SIGNED] Ogden Hoffman
U. S. District Judge



From the original in the possession of
Mrs. J. H. P. Howard of San Mateo

Howard gave the name of El Cerrito to his San Mateo house. It was built in a grove of trees so as to be sheltered from the wind; and while he and my grandmother were away, his correspondence shows how often it was in his mind. In a letter written to her on September 21, 1854, when he was in Weston and she in Paris, he says that he had received some flowers from their friends the Bowditches and that "among them were some sweet peas. I send enclosed two or three to remind you of California where I wish we were." And in another, written in October of the same fall, he says: "I shall send out carpets for our house, perhaps furniture for the lower rooms and our rooms. . . ." The reader will recall his brother's testimony that not less than $80,000 had been expended by W. D. M. Howard in buildings, gardens, etc. In the words of the committee of the California State Agricultural Society which visited the estate in 1858 (after George H. Howard's marriage to Agnes Poett Howard in the late fall of 1857):

> By a winding foot-way leading through a beautiful grove of evergreen-oaks, and across the San Mateo Creek . . . we reached the residence of George H. Howard. His dwelling—a capacious structure, with broad verandas around, and large high-ceiled and elegantly furnished halls, rooms, and stairways, within—is . . . entirely screened from the highway.

The report goes on to describe the Howard stock farm, its barns, etc., "of ample dimensions, with the most substantial materials, and best workmanship." The whole farm was enclosed by a "plank-fence." Howard's bull, Orion, had been awarded a premium at the State Fair "as a pure-blood short-horned animal. . . ." In the fruit garden they were shown "some of the most successful efforts at training the peach, as espaliers . . . a great variety of fruiting and ornamental shrubbery, and true Hungarian bunch-grass—the latter growing luxuriantly in a dry gravelly soil, entirely without irrigation. We here observed," continued the visiting committee's report, "the exercise of the good taste to cultivate our native ornamentals, than which few countries can boast a greater variety, or finer quality."[9]

As to W. D. M.'s faith in the site of this rancho, on which he and later his brother were willing to spend such large sums—on September 6, 1851, W. D. M. was chosen a director of the Pacific & Atlantic RR. Co. whose immediate aim was to join San Francisco and San Jose; but my grandfather's letters written in 1854 show that the expectation of an inter-ocean connection by land was not, to him at least, far fetched.[10]

At the entrance to the rancho were the ruins of an adobe, which was mentioned in Sánchez' testimony, given above. Its history has been told by F. M. Stanger in the September 1944 QUARTERLY of this Society, but I might say here that we donated the tiles of this adobe to Mission Dolores, as the repair-contractors were looking for some to match the old ones and these served their purpose. A more personal matter at that time was the opening of the safe at 523 Montgomery Street that once belonged to

my grandfather. The contents had been familiar to me from childhood visits, when my father used to open it to entertain his young callers. Chief among the treasures, so far as we were concerned then, had been quarter-pound tin tea boxes with remnants of gold sticking to the inside. There was also a round silver box full of gold coins minted in San Francisco. When the safe was opened by my brother Edward,[11] after the required cooling-off period following the fire had ended, we found that the shelves had collapsed and all the gold, silver, copper, etc., had melted into a large irregular ball at the bottom. Three small lumps I identified as my father's pearl shirt studs. Practically nothing was retrieved.

By way of conclusion there is another matter that relates my grandfather more or less directly to the catastrophic events of 1906. St. Matthew's Episcopal Church in San Mateo was built in the 1860's by my grandmother, my father, and George H. Howard in W. D. M. Howard's memory and he lies buried in the crypt. The first baptism was that of George H. Howard, Jr., on September 21, 1864; it was administered in advance of the completion of the church by the Rev. Giles A. Easton, who was holding Episcopal services at the San Mateo Institute at 11 a.m. on Sundays and at Redwood City at 4 p.m. The corner-stone was laid about a year later (on October 12, 1865, to be exact), and by mid-July 1866 the name "St. Matthew's Church" replaced "Episcopal Church, San Mateo," in the religious notices in the press.[12]

Immediately after the earthquake of 1906 my brother Edward, and my husband Mr. F. S. Whitwell and I went to see how the forty-year-old church had fared. The roof, which had been steep and covered with slate tiles, was on the ground intact while around it like a wreath were the stone walls. A marble statue of the Angel Gabriel sounding his trumpet stood in the sunshine unhurt except for the trumpet, which had been broken off about eight inches. There the statue remained for nearly a year, in the rain and sun, as my brother, with a wife and infant, was too busy about his and our destroyed buildings in San Francisco to do anything about it. When my husband and I, after three months, returned from Boston, we put a shed over the monument and had an Italian sculptor repair the lettering which had been almost obliterated. Gabriel is now in the chapel, behind the altar. Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, Mrs. Jenny Crocker Henderson, and the D. O. Mills and William B. Bourn families made it possible to rebuild the church. Our family could only afford to build the chapel in memory of the Howards. Buried in the crypt besides W. D. M. Howard and little Frederick (my grandfather had been buried originally in Lone Mountain Cemetery), are my father, William Henry Howard; my mother, Anna Dwight Howard; George H. Howard (brother of W. D. M. Howard), his wife Agnes Poett Howard (my grandmother), and their daughter Julia Howard (Mrs.

Edward D. Beylard); also Abraham Howard (W. D. M.'s and George H.'s nephew, whose mother Mary Howard had married her second cousin).

(To be continued)

NOTES

8. Howard's anxiety and affection for Willie, the little boy who was saved, recur time and time again in his letters to Mrs. Howard while she was abroad.

9. *Transactions of the California State Agricultural Society during the Year 1858* (Sacramento, 1859), pp. 251-52; also p. 118 for premium award. George H. Howard's name appeared recently in this QUARTERLY (Sept. 1947 issue, p. 264) as one of the directors of C. T. Hopkins' California Mutual Marine Insurance Co., when it was incorporated in the spring of 1861.

10. Oscar O. Winther, "The Story of San Jose, 1777-1869 . . .," this QUARTERLY, XIV (June 1935), 163 and 164.

11. Edward Whiting Howard was born in Paris, France, in 1877. He died in San Francisco on Jan. 19, 1915, when pneumonia set in while he was trying to recover from a fractured pelvis received on the sixth instant, when an elevator in the California Pacific Building, 105 Montgomery Street, fell seven floors. At that time he held the office of president of the Howard Cattle Company of Ingomar, California, and was, besides, an expert polo player. Painfully injured in the same accident was Robert Easton, now of Santa Barbara and a member of this Society, son of the Rev. G. A. Easton mentioned above. See San Francisco *Chronicle*, Jan. 7 and 20, 1915, for an account of the accident and announcement of my brother's death.

12. It is through the kindness of Mrs. E. J. Townsend, secretary of St. Matthew's, that I am able to give the actual dates in connection with the beginnings of the church. In a letter dated June 10, 1948, she says:

"On referring to the first volume of the Church Register, I found that the first baptism recorded was that of George Henry Howard [Jr.], on September 21, 1864, bearing the notation: 'This baptism was administered before the Church was built by the missionary, Rev. G. A. Easton'."

Mrs. Townsend says, further, that clippings from the newspapers concerning the ceremonies for the laying of the corner-stone on October 12, 1865, speak of "the incumbent of San Mateo, the Rev. A. L. Brewer." See also *San Mateo County Gazette*, issues of June 30 and July 14, 1866; and compare D. O. Kelley, *History of the Diocese of California from 1849 to 1914* (San Francisco, 1915), pp. 47-48, 353; also William Carey Jones, *Illustrated History of the University of California* (San Francisco, 1895), pp. 89-90, where he gives a biographical note on Rev. G. A. Easton, rector of St. Mark's, Berkeley, 1884-95.

金山大華人埠地圖
西門德人大鐘
東北角 乾汝街 (有電線車) 乾汝街 東南角
都板街
都板街 (有電線車)
都板街
都板街
花園橫街
積慎街
怕愚巖街
十作顛街
西北角
十作顛街
西南角
沙加免度街
天后廟街
金寧街
嘩恒頓街

Gold Mountain, Big City, Chinese Map

Chinatown in the "Big City" [San Francisco] at the "Gold Mountain" [California]

Free Translation with Explanatory Comments

By William Hoy

BENEATH the large characters at the top of the map reproduced on the opposite page are certain questions and answers, designed to supply useful information to Chinese after passage of the Exclusion Act of 1882, to enable them to pose as former residents and not be taken for new immigrants.

Question: When was the big fair held here, and where? *Answer:* The fair [referring to the Mid-Winter Exposition] was held here in the 5th and 6th months of the reign of Emperor Kwang Hsu 19th year [1894], and took place at the New Park [Golden Gate Park].

Question: What years [were the Chinese] required to obtain certificates of residence? *Answer:* Kwang Hsu 19th and 20th years [1894-95].

Question: What year did the [city] doctors blockade Chinatown [as the suspected source of plague]? *Answer:* It was Kwang Hsu 26th year, 5th month [1900] and was done for about two weeks.

Question: Where is the Imperial House's [government's] post office? *Answer:* The government's post office is located at the Custom House, on Washington and Sansome streets.

Question: Where is the 9-story house [Palace Hotel]? *Answer:* The 9-story house is on Market Street.

Next comes the map itself, showing the immediate environs of the Chinese quarter. From east to west the streets marked are Kearny, Grant Avenue, and Stockton; south to north are Sacramento, Clay, Washington, Jackson, and Pacific. Shorter streets within the section are also indicated, such as Waverly Place, called by the Chinese the "Street of the Tien Hou Temple"; Commercial Street, Spofford and Ross alleys, Brenham Place and Wentworth Street; and lastly, Beckett Street, called the "Street of Plain-Language John." It was named for an American who, according to Chinatown folklore, spoke the plain-language of the Chinese people and frequented this street, where sing-song houses were in those days.

The map also furnishes the information that cable cars run up Sacramento Street and down Clay; that Kearny has street cars, but that Grant Avenue,

Stockton and the other streets in the quarter do not. Portsmouth Square is indicated, and so is the Hall of Justice.

Institutions shown are the Chinese Consulate on Stockton between Clay and Sacramento; the Ning Yung District Association (one of the Six Companies) on Waverly Place between Clay and Sacramento; the Hang Far Low Restaurant on Grant Avenue, which still stands at the same spot; the Daan Kwei Chinese Opera Theater on Washington Street between Grant Avenue and Ross Alley; and two other restaurants.

Original of map is in the collection of Mr. Hart North of Berkeley (see this QUARTERLY, XXVII, March 1948, 91-92).

Bound for the Land of Canaan, Ho!

The Diary of Levi Stowell, 1849

With Introduction and Notes
By Marco G. Thorne

(Continued)

After his return to San Francisco, Stowell settled down to his trade of carpenter and builder, the latter occupation sending him back on a brief trip to Santa Cruz. He worked with and for H. F. Williams, who had started a good construction business in Stowell's absence. There was also, in Stowell's thoughts, an upsurge of his chronic homesickness, as is shown in his disgust at receiving little, if any, mail from home; but his diary shows that his interest in California's need for civil government and the formation of political groups is growing.

Monday, May 21. Done Nothing of Importance, run about some. everything mooving at a rapid rate. the Boys driving things. Many projects, building a floating Astor House at Salsaleta.[76] Windy as ever. Some arrivals.

Tuesday, May 22. Everlastingly blows — — Whew — — Again in this most disagreeable of all places. P[ennsylvani]a Ave' is no comparison in a windy day even, blows the stones out of the streets & the bark off the trees & a man requires two Niggers to hold his hat on & they command $400. pr Mo' Expensive

Wednesday, May 23. Goods very low, provision also [.] Flour $8. per Bbl. Vegatables Butter Eggs &c &c very high & scarce. poor living yet at our boarding houses & high prices. but I'm once more out of the land of Slap Jacks & saltPork, well I is old hoss.—

Thursday, May 24. Sutton come in from the "diggins," satisfied for the present, destiny against him.[77] found Bowen took him in with us. a Shanty to ourselves. Bowen rather low-spirited concluded to stay with us till the return of Owens from the Mines

Friday, May 25. Boys all getting "Conscience-less" want $1500.00 for putting up a cornice to a small frame house. however, its California prices, & if in "Turkey do as Turkeys do" [;] plenty of work & all right side up

Saturday, May 26. Concluded to keep "Bachelors Hall" bought the Tools &c & commence tomorrow. Cant afford $16.00 pr week for beef & bread & no lodgings [.] Now for "tall living" [.] who is to be cook? Query.

Sunday, May 27. Well we think we had a very fine breakfast. Henry & Bowen went to Market &c I swept the house &c & Bill cooked. Beefsteak, hot bread & butter Coff &c &c, all pronounced it, Admirable.

Monday, May 28. I mounted my horse & left for Santa Cruz once more to climb those almost impassable mountains, Clambering over rocks & through bushes & sliding down precipices holding on to the bushes &c &c

Tuesday, May 29. extremely – hot Staid at Mr Wistmans [;] off early dined at Jones mill & after taking a regular sweat clambering over them everlasting mountains which no man has any business to do, I arrived at Capt Grahams at dusk.

Wednesday, May 30. warm Went to Santa Cruz. Staid at Mr Moores. Most splendid timber on Grahams place. saw the big tree Fremont speaks off [*sic*] 19. ft. 8. in in diameter & some are still larger. saw where a man had lived in one for a long time the Butt being burnt out & still standing

Thursday, May 31. warm Mr Moore & myself rode up the coast 10 or 12 Miles to a Mr. Williams's Ranch to look at the timber & mill seat &c &c Magnificent timber. great quantities, Red, wood, Fur & Oak well assorted. Stream small

Friday, June 1. saw Many Seal &c Started for Francisco. the soil is excellent at Santa Cruz planted Water-Melons, Cantelopes &c &c for Mrs Moore yesterday. Most Excellent water, the best in California no doubt & the best & most timber trees 5. to 20. ft Dia' 200 to 300. high.

Saturday, June 2. pleasant Stoped at friend Wistman's last night [.] out of the Mountains once more thank good. luck. Met the Revd Mr Williams of N.J.[78] rode up with him got in to the City in the after-noon. & found all well &c &c

Sunday, June 3. cloudy & cool Had a house fall down on yesterday, bad business, fault of the Contractor. neglect to brace the frame &c. reckon one house wont break us however. Bill & Jack went over to Goat Island, could not get back till next noon. &c

Monday, June 4. windy & cool – The Steamer Panama come in last night. Nevitt[79] called on Me to my great surprise. a strong party of Washingtonians. got along first rate [.] Keeping Bach', live high, great rush for the P[ost]. O[ffice].[80]

Tuesday, June 5. Nevitt & Ellis took tea & staid all night with us [.] I got a letter from my Brother & F.S.M.W. & one per Sutton's date Feby 2nd all crazy to get letters & none, as yet recd—

Wednesday, June 6. Nevitt & Party off to the Mines up the Sacremento. ships daily arr' with a great many passengers & goods. buildings in great demand. Sorry to see by the papers that so many are on their way here [;] disappointment their fate.—I fear.

Thursday, June 7. Rain last night, refreshing. Bowen, Deputy Treasuer for the Legislature. No letters from Washington a sore disappointment to us all. many rough blessing pronounced upon our friends for not writing—

Friday, June 8. Nothing of interest going on, unusual. buildings going up as fast as material can be procured. vessels daily arr' with passengers & goods. I tremble for our Merchants at home they must loose.

Saturday, June 9. Ground & rent still raising [.] news from the N. Fork

that many are getting immense quantities of gold. many going to the mines daily. The Kid Glove. "tight boot, & strap pants. Gentry had better

Sunday, June 10. have staid home. they wont do in the Mines. Went to Church 3. times to day. a few ladies present. does my eyes good to see a woman once more [.] hope Mrs Farnam will bring 10,000—[81]

Monday, June 11. Searched the Mail bags & found 4 letters for Henry & 3 for Jack & 2 for myself. bad management. feel some better, but far from satisfied [.] no letters, save from Preston never mind I'll wait

Tuesday, June 12. A mass Meeting, speeches from T. Butler King & Col Guynn [Gwin] & others, relative to electing delegates to meet & form a State Const to be presented to Congress at the next Session. a large meeting. some confusion &c[82]

Wednesday, June 13. The Steamer Oregon arr' – this Morn' with 290 passengers but no mail from the U.S. What the d––l is the reason I cant hear from home. guess it'll be some time before I write again unless I hear – "reasons"

Thursday, June 14. Oh! but how we do live tho' just as at, the "Astor' eat & sleep, sleep & eat, Bowen cant get enough All blessed with health & good appetites. Should like to see some few of my friends right well

Friday, June 15. Got letters from Sis B. & M.A.H. Heaven bless them for their favours & surely I would if I could see them may fortune smile upon & fortune favour them. & heaven grant, that I may in long sit beneath their winning smiles and sip

Saturday, June 16. from their rosy lips the honey of bliss Me thinks I wold ne'er roam again from my friends & home, to wander & toil in a stranger land & merely exist, not live, with no congenial sprits around me Ah! I would live otherwise.

Sunday, June 17. Went to Church at Mr. Ross's & heard a very fine discourse from Rev Mr Wheeler. went to see the Ladies but O where were they. not there. how unlike home, the house of prayer & praise not to be

Monday, June 18. blessed with the presence of [undecipherable] a fair face & sylph-like form & whose magic influence over [undecipherable] award. vile sinful man; often leads him to repentance & to ask [undecipherable] the throne of Grace

Tuesday, June 19. Prepared to go to Saucilito [;] didnt get off. Sent letters to O.J. Preston & a Box of Gold (specimens) to O. J. Preston, L.B. Stowell & sisters, Jas Fowles, Mrs. Williams, Mrs. Joyce, Jno' Waters, F.J. Waters, J. Smith (pr Bowen–by Whitney

Wednesday, June 20. Went to Saucelito, Liut McCormick putting up a steam saw mill there, but in my opinion a very bad place, no timber, or wood lots $1000.– & over one [undecipherable] in the whole place except [undecipherable] the mountains

Thursday, June 21. Spun Oakum to cork our floating Astor House. A

new business to me but nothing like trying a hand at anything, as well spin oakum as to spin yarns. I [undecipherable] some among the people here

Friday, June 22. hot Prepared to Lounch & at one o'clock at night. the birds high we made the attempt & [undecipherable] we had to give her up for the night. One day is all they usually work for, play cards, drink & ride horses & frolick all night

Saturday, June 23. All hands with axes, wedges & [undecipherable] we went to work in the mud to deep to get our Scow off, Indians to help. got it launched at sundown [.] Sat down on a pile of chips & wiped the mud off my pants &c rather a bad job I should think [.] Saucilito (7. Miles above)

Sunday, June 24. cool Waiting for tide till afternoon. All hands got a board, with some to pull & some to push &c. first in the Mud & Water & then in the scow, wade swim & pull got out of the Creek, before sundown. So Crooked that the fish cant swim up it. went up to the shanty to dry & sleep on the floor but no use, The boys

Monday, June 25. got on a 'train' as usual, broke, burnt & tore everything to peices. got Frazer & myself out of bed & tore it down & when there was nothing left, went over to the Widow Reed's,[83] bust 3. casks of Liquor, poured it on the floor, kicked up a merry h—ll & scared the women nearly to death, one in particular & thus they live & carry on, in these diggins. I came over to Capt Richardsons[84] & from thence to San Francisco in a sail boat

Tuesday, June 26. had a very rough time on the Bay could not make shore. rowed to shore & towed the boat from Ricon Point [.] Look most as bad as when I came from the Mines. Wouldnt live over there among such people 6. Mo for half of U[pper]. C[alifornia]. San Francisco — U[pper]. C[alifornia].

Wednesday, June 27. Dr. Guynn [Gwin?] took dinner with us on yesterday, Voorhies also at the Astor-House: tried to get a few M[aster]. M[ason]'s together, think we shall get a meeting soon hope so, at least but everybody has so Much to attend to, cant stop for anything—save Gold or its equivalent.

Thursday, June 28. How, howl, ye winds, nor cease they constant blasts, vigour, strenth, & appetite ye give to Man and sleep, beyond control, & Clouds of dust impenatable to the naked eye & almost equal to the Clouds of sand on the "great deserts of the east. Such

Friday, June 29. is the outward & visible features of the climate of this 'fairy land,' but as there is no bitter without its sweet, we must not forget the 'Gold" the greatest sweet of all others, which grows very plentifully among these Everlasting hills.—

Saturday, June 30. Staid at home & wrote to O.J.P. — P.D. — M.A.H. — R.S.A. wrote till 2. O.Clock at night & then did not get half through wish

I could write 1000 pages a day, would try & write to all, but wait alittle. You shall all hear.

GROWING SAN FRANCISCO

The oncoming of hundreds of gold seekers, merchants, gamblers and mechanics made San Francisco grow rapidly during the latter part of 1849. Heavy winds swept sand over the city; Edward Chever remarked that "... the sand was driven in clouds along the main traveled roads .... horse shoes and pieces of metal lying on the surface were smooth and brightly burnished by the attritions of the sand."[85] Rents were high and still going up. The Parker House rented at prices estimated to be from $110,000 to $175,000 a year; a small building used as a bank on the Plaza rented at $75,000 and a common-sized lodging room near the city's center rented for $100 a month.[86]

The most memorable incident, and one which brought out the need for strong government, was the "Hounds" incident, which Stowell describes. The Hounds, or Society of Regulators, was a group of discharged soldiers and rowdies who were first hired to prevent sailors from jumping ship in San Francisco. They soon grew in size and numbers and began taking the law into their own hands, terrifying merchants and the "Chileans" or South Americans. San Franciscans were too busy making money to notice them too often; the city's municipal government was too weak to combat them.[87] As Stowell shows, the Hounds eventually overstepped their power.

Sunday, July 1. Wrote till two O.Clock a.m. did not go to Church. Jack & I. went out to the Big Perserante & collected scow hire $50.— had a sweat getting back against wind & tide. 1000. passengers in the last two days. —

Monday, July 2. Steamer Oregon off to day at noon. Bowen goes to Monterey sorry to have him leave. 13 ships arrd in the last two days [.] Kennedy, Duvall & Dixon took dinner with us, glad to see them.

Tuesday, July 3. Washington City well represented [.] T. McCalla & several others here Tom' staid with us, hi, on "a "bust", I should like to spend tomorrow in Balto or Washt. Glorious 4th let every freeman shout at they coming & hail thy dawn with shouts of Joy—

Wednesday, July 4. Guns, fire crackers by the cartload — & drunken men by the score. this day our varajo. well do I remember. how changed the scene of my pleasures, with pleasant feelings does my mind recur back to the eve' of July 4th /48

Thursday, July 5. & still a tinge of melonchally is cast o'er me, when I see & feel my different position, without those friends, without means of engagment in a land & among a people who know nothing of the beauty & genius of our institutions, may they spread.

Friday, July 6. Many arrivals, & people without Number, & Many even of the best travelled among them, after their first debut,, halt, gaze; & bewildered, they can only exclaim, well "this's a great country" lets go to the Mines boys, hurrah! lets get the

Saturday, July 7. digging apparatus, halloa Mister how much for a tin pan? $6., how much for a pick-axe? $8.00, how much for a Shovel only $5.00

Jehosephat well! thats some. how much for 12½ cts worth of Coffee [;] only $1.00, thats cheap just wait 'till I come from the Mines [;] I'll take some. Old hoss.

Sunday, July 8. Warmly pleasant [;] Jack, Bill & Frazer gone after muscles, no clean clothes to go to Church, is their plea — at home all day, cooking eating & washing dishes, the most horrible of all work, is the latter & I pray for better & other arrangements.

Monday, July 9. All busy, plenty to do H.F.W. & Jack, at work for F. Ward.[88] & Bill for Jane building at the halves, Lumber from $250 to $400. per M & very troublesome to get considerable afloat in the harbour Notwithstanding.

Tuesday, July 10. Got our Wharf-boat here on Sunday all safe, thank the winds & tides for that.[89] arrivals without number, Many leaving for the mines. News from there very good, doing very well generally. —

Wednesday, July 11. Bake House blown down, & consequently the staff of life cut off; hope not so short but that we may get a small portion to lean upon: beef-steak & onions as a treat. 75 cents pr Llb for Onions rather strong. dont thi[n]k I like 'em

Thursday, July 12. I have been "chief cook & dishwa[s]her" for about 2. weeks. think I shall enter my protest. Made a contract with Capt Denison to build a house adjoining the Parker House 27. by 55 ft 2. Stories.[90] $4,250.00/100 No work on the inside. all O.K.! —

Friday, July 13. Praying for the Steamer to come & bring us letters from home, I hope a dozzen for me at least, & blessed shall be the name & memory of those who, shall thus comfort me

Saturday, July 14. We have a set of lawless boys about town, who style themselves "the hounds" who hunt out their victims, & deal out Justice of their own sort, regulators &c. No law to interfere, & they do what they please.

Sunday, July 15. Steamer arrd 9. O.Cl'k, P.M. Boys went a fishing for Crabbs, &c, usual luck, big stories & no fish. The Steamer California arrived this eve' about 9. O.Clock [.] The Hounds are out after some Chileanoes; a hard gang, some one has to suffer to night.[91]

Monday, July 16. Great excitement among the populace in consequence of outrages committed last night by the Hounds they having shot, robbed & destroyed much property, of some Chileanoes without provocation, police of all the citizens formed & most of them caught & on the Warren.[92]

Tuesday, July 17. Look out for a hanging match. the Regulators regulated. A grand jury empannelled, several more caught.[93] Much excitement still. it is to be hoped that we shall have no more such regulators, & that the guilty be dealt with severely, & at once.

(To be continued)

NOTES

76. The *Astor House* was a large scow that H. F. Williams was building. There were only short wharves in San Francisco; scows and small boats landed cargoes from ships. Williams, aware of the demand for lighters, sent a crew of ten men to a small creek back of Sausalito, there to build a barge from the redwood timber available in that region. H. F. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

77. Sutton later wrote, "... Though I was in a rich locality, it occurred to me one day that I was not getting rich fast, and upon investigating I found hat I had made an average of about ten dollars a day." Thereupon he left the mines. Sutton, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

78. Rev. Albert Williams arrived in San Francisco on the *SS. Oregon* on Apr. 1, 1849. He organized the first Presbyterian church in San Francisco in May 1849. Albert Williams, *A Pioneer Pastorate and Times* ... (San Francisco, 1879), pp. 9-23; Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, pp. 691-92.

79. Probably Joseph H. Novett. *Constitution and By-Laws of the Sacramento Society of California Pioneers and List of Officers and Members* (Sacramento, 1877), p. 5.

80. H. F. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 8, says: "There was but one delivery, and a single line was formed of very great length. It was a common thing for men to get into line, and when they got towards the delivery window, sell out their positions, and go to the foot of the line, and when they got along a good distance, sell out again, and some of them made as high as fifteen or twenty dollars a day in that way."

81. Mrs. Elizabeth Farnham was a former prison matron. After her husband's death in California in 1848, Mrs. Farnham tried to organize a party of 130 women to go to California in 1849 to become wives of bachelor miners. A packet ship was chartered, and the sailing date set for Apr. 1849. However, Mrs. Farnham became ill and the project failed. In May 1849 she arrived with only three women, one of whom was already married. Eliza Farnham, *California, Indoors and Out* ... (New York, 1856), p. 27; Wm. R. Ryan, *Personal Adventures in Upper and Lower California, in 1848-9* ... (London, 1850), II, 282-83; Washington *Natl. Intelligencer*, May 23, 1849, p. 3:1.

82. This meeting of June 12 was called to determine the government that the people wanted in California; it marks also the beginnings of partyism. Thomas Butler King, a former congressman from Georgia, was a special commissioner of the U. S. government to check on affairs in California. William M. Gwin, a former congressman from Mississippi, came to California on the advice of John C. Calhoun. When he landed on June 4, he found the subject of state government being discussed in San Francisco and so entered into the political agitation. C. W. Haskins, *The Argonauts of California* ... (New York, 1890), p. 417; Crosby, *op. cit.*, p. 28; Wm. M. Gwin, "Memoirs on History of United States, Mexico, and California of Ex-Senator William M. Gwin" (MS in B.L.), pp. 1-2, 7. The meeting was held at Portsmouth Square. Addresses and resolutions were made calling for immediate formation of state government. Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, p. 222; Buffum, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

83. Edwin Bryant mentioned a Mrs. Reed, a widow, who had a ranch on the way from San Rafael to Sausalito. John H. Brown said that there was lumber at her place in Feb. 1848. He described her as a sister of Francisco Sánchez, whose second husband was a desperado known as Three Fingered Jack. Edwin Bryant, *What I saw in California* (Philadelphia, 1848), p. 339; Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

84. Captain Richardson was a British settler who came to California in 1823. Bryant, in October 1846, spoke of him as the proprietor of Sausalito. James O'Meara wrote that Richardson's building at Sausalito was somewhat of a landmark. In 1839 Richardson was captain of the port of San Francisco for the Mexican government; he escorted Captain Wilkes around San Francisco bay when the Wilkes expedition was on its trip

to the Fiji islands. He supplied wood and other materials for visiting British ships, thus arousing suspicion by Americans that he was furthering possible British control of California. Bryant, *loc. cit.;* James O'Meara, "San Francisco in Early Days," *Overland Monthly,* 2d ser., I (1883), 130; Wm. H. Davis, "Statement of William Heath Davis" (MS in B.L.), pp. 19, 79-84.

85. Edward E. Chever, "Through the Straits of Magellan in 1849," *Quarterly of Soc. of Calif. Pioneers,* IV (1927), 127.

86. E. A. White, ed., *A Yankee Trader in the Gold Rush, the Letters of Franklin A. Buck* (Boston, 1930), p. 46; Bayard Taylor, *op. cit.,* pp. 56-58; Hiram D. Pierce, *A Forty-Niner Speaks...* (Oakland, 1930), pp. 32-33; Soulé *et al, op. cit.,* pp. 253-54; Buffum, *op. cit.,* p. 122.

87. Frank M. Smith, ed., *San Francisco Vigilance Committee of '56 with Some Interesting Sketches of Events Succeeding 1846* (San Francisco, 1883), p. 7; Mary F. Williams, *Vigilance Committee of 1851, op. cit.,* p. 105; William F. White, *A Picture of Pioneer Times in California...* (San Francisco, 1881), p. 106; Hall McAllister, "Statement," in *Vigilance Committee in San Francisco* (MS in B.L.), p. 16; Brown, *op. cit.,* pp. 78-79; Soulé *et al, op. cit.,* pp. 223-27, 554-56.

88. Frank Ward arrived in San Francisco in 1846 and was a merchant. Bryant, *op cit.,* p. 326; Sherman *(Memoirs,* I, 33) wrote that Ward had a store on Montgomery Street in San Francisco. According to Wm. White *(op. cit.,* p. 102), in July 1849 Ward was the "...foremost merchant in San Francisco."

89. The scow had been filled with rough lumber and stumps of trees and towed to San Francisco. The lumber was sold and the barge rented as a lighter for about $150 a day. H. F. Williams, *op. cit.,* p. 9.

90. Samuel Dennison rented a piece of land from Robert Parker, and built a gambling saloon called, variously, "Dennison House," and "Dennison's Exchange." Brown, *op. cit.,* p. 85; Soulé *et al, op. cit.,* p. 241.

91. On this Sunday the Hounds, returning in the afternoon from a raid on the east shore of the bay, found that an American sailor had been beaten in a row with some of the "Chileans." On horseback and on foot, the Hounds chased and shot at the Chileans around Clark's Point and Telegraph Hill. Wm. White, *op. cit.,* pp. 106-107; McAllister, *op. cit.,* p. 15; Soulé *et al, op. cit.,* p. 558.

92. The Hounds raid of July 15 caused injury to Chilean men, women and children and one man was seriously shot. Amazed at the Hounds' boldness, the citizens of San Francisco held a mass meeting the next day at 3 p.m. in Portsmouth Square. A special constabulary of 230 men was sworn in and a merchant supplied arms free. A relief fund was also collected for the Chileans. Samuel Roberts, the leader of the Hounds, was caught as were 19 others. They were placed under arrest on the *U.S.S. Warren,* one of Commodore Jones' squadron, as there was no safe place to keep them on shore. McAllister, *op. cit.,* p. 15; Soulé *et al, loc. cit.*

93. A court was organized at another meeting of San Francisco citizens, the judges being T. M. Leavenworth, William M. Gwin, and James C. Ward. McAllister and two other men were prosecuting attorneys, and Peter Barry and Myron Norton were defense attorneys. Roberts and the 19 other prisoners were indicted on several counts, including conspiracy to commit murder and robbery. McAllister, *op. cit.,* pp. 15-16; Gwin, *op. cit.,* p. 8; Soulé *et al, op. cit.,* pp. 558-59.

The California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins

(Continued)

XX.

During the winter of 1868-9 the alterations and additions to the house at "Alderwood" were made, occupying several months, during which I lived in the house, the family boarding in San Francisco. The winter was a wet one and the house, being of course open, I took a severe cold which later on took the form of pneumonia; the cough resulting therefrom has never quite left me. So soon as I was well enough to travel, my doctor ordered me east via Panama. I accordingly sailed in the *S.S. Colorado* by the first trip after the opening of the Pacific Railroad, which, being the more popular route, left us with only twenty-three cabin passengers. With the exception of my trip to Victoria, this was my first traveling in fourteen years, and having plenty of room in the big ship, and the best of accommodations, I enjoyed it to the full.

I was absent three months.... I returned by the railroad, stopping at Chicago. This was the first I had seen of any portion of our country except the line of travel between New York and Burlington, and I returned home with a very humble idea of San Francisco as compared with many eastern cities....

In October of 1869 I was appointed foreman of the Grand Jury in Alameda County. It was the only jury duty I was ever called on to do, except one term of the petit jury in San Francisco many years before. Somehow my name seemed to escape or be avoided in drawing juries, so that I have been called on for hardly any of this service to the state. On this occasion, however, the work was vigorously done and a report made which pleased the public and the judge, who took the trouble to call on me and express the wish that I could be foreman of the Grand Jury all the time!

During 1870 I drew a memorial for the chamber of commerce to Congress praying for a postal subsidy to the Australian Steamship Line then about to be inaugurated by William H. Webb, the famous New York shipbuilder. It was adopted and presented, but its only result was the friendly acquaintance it occasioned between me and Mr. Webb.

I also drew the by-laws of the "Redwood Lumber Association," a combination designed to enforce uniform prices of redwood lumber by all manufactories and yards engaged in its production and sale. The difficulty in forming these combinations is that they are, in principle, opposed to the laws in restraint of trade, their object being to forestall the free competition

which is said to be the "life of trade," though it is often death to those who carry it on.

I have always believed that such successive emulation as results in loss to the dealer, is a permanent injury rather than a benefit to the public, while the public is harmed by monopolies only when the power they acquire is abused. I see no injury to consumers of oil in the Standard Oil Company, none to the patrons of the telegraph in the Western Union, none to the forwarding public in Wells, Fargo and Co., but great benefit in all their perfect system, stability, and responsibility.

When a powerful combination can command a sure and permanent business, and in consideration of that permanence and safety is contented with moderate dividends, then the public is best served. It is when the desire for sudden wealth overrides this wise moderation that the consumers suffer, first by high prices, then by the reaction resulting from competition ending in necessary failures and bankruptcies and constant fluctuations in prices. Every business should yield a moderate and regular profit to those who engage in it.

Good lawyers gave me their opinion to the effect that the principle involved in the above mentioned laws would be enforced by the courts as not being in conflict with the laws against restraint of trade. They were adopted, resulting in a good business and fair profit to all the members for two or three years. Then a break occurred[94]; how I never knew. By and by union was restored and the principle extended so as to embrace all dealers in coast lumber. Now (1888) prices of that material, under the enormous demands of southern California, are fully double what they were in 1871. . . .

This year we changed the plan on which the California Insurance Company had hitherto operated, so as to offer all the profits of the insurance business to the insured, reserving only the interest on investments to the stockholders. In this we followed the example of the old Atlantic of New York, intending to issue scrip for the profits. But the California public cared nothing for profits so contingent and remote. Our rivals dropped the regular rates 10%, and kept their customers; even got some of ours; and after two years' experiment we reverted to the stock plan without any objection on the part of our dealers, most of whom never inquired whether there was any scrip due them or not! Another of my failures!

Though I had nothing to do with the great Civil War which began and ended during the fourteen years between my visits east in 1855 and 1869, I probably thought and felt as deeply on that subject as any of the actual combatants. I realized that the whole difficulty arose by the gradual alienation of ideas between the North and South in regard to the American system, and that if the same primary education had impressed on the minds of the youth in both sections the same views of the meaning of our institu-

tions, such a war would never have occurred. Was it now too late to agitate in favor of uniform education on this subject? Was the war itself but the necessary preparation of the public mind for the universal introduction of "Civics" as a separate and crowning study in the public schools? Yet, what text book was in existence, at all designed to explain American ideas to youth? I knew of none, could find or hear of none. All the works on that topic were addressed to advanced scholars. Could a book be prepared bringing it down to the comprehension of children and youth? If so, would not the idea of so utilizing the public schools as to prepare all our youths, South as well as North, for the duties of citizenship, meet with instant and universal acceptation?

I talked in this strain on the ferry boat, one day in 1864, with the Rev. Henry Durant, later (1870-72) the first president of the state university. He was an earnest, loyal, scholarly and devoted friend of all education, and I gloried in his friendship. He seized my idea at once and exclaimed, "Hopkins, you are the man to write that text book!"

This thought struck me. I took it home. I began to think and read up on the subject. I borrowed books wherever I could find them. All my studying was after nine o'clock at night when my family were in bed. I made notes as I read, attempted several times to put my thoughts on paper but failed every time to express my idea. After six years of incubation, at odds and ends of time, I finally, in the fall of 1870, sent my wife and three of my children to spend the winter in Honolulu, the other two being at school, and I took a room in the city, determined to execute that work before spring, or die in the attempt. Three times I wrote it before sending the manuscript to Mr. Durant for his criticisms. He turned it over to his friend, Rev. L. Hamilton, of Oakland, whose church I then attended, and the cordial endorsement of these two gentlemen was my baptism into the fold of authorship.

I now invested $400 in printing five hundred copies of an author's edition, a large proportion whereof were forwarded, with a circular inviting criticism, to distinguished educators, clergymen, and statesmen in all parts of the country. I received about one hundred letters from prominent persons, all cordially approving the object and execution of the work, many of them complying with the request for criticisms. From some I received a succession of letters, and made literary friends of scholars and thinkers whom I had never seen. I utilized some of the criticisms in revising the book, and after losing a year in the vain attempt to find an eastern publisher, I contracted with Bancroft and Company to publish it in San Francisco for five years.

. . . .

I may as well say here that my book was a failure. Bancroft and Company managed to work off about 3,000 copies during ten years. No public school

would adopt it anywhere. There was too much religion in it to suit either Catholics, Jews or infidels, and too much honesty to please the politicians who control the schools. It was below the level of the educated mind and above those too ignorant and lazy to think for themselves. The fire in Bancroft's establishment in 1886[95] burned up the unsold copies, and though I spent five hundred dollars more to procure its publication by H. S. Crocker & Company in 1887, "it has fallen stillborn from the press." . . .

I have before referred to the effect of the conflagration at Chicago, which occurred in October of the year 1871, in almost destroying the San Francisco fire insurance companies. The great and aggressive Pacific closed its dishonest career in a characteristic manner. Its assets were about $1,600,000 and its Chicago losses $3,200,000. Now its stockholders were all liable under the state law, each for his proportion of all its debts and liabilities. They consisted of some three hundred of our wealthiest citizens, and the whole loss could have been collected had the claimants not been so pressed for money as to be glad to get what they could, provided it were paid at once. So Ralston employed Henry D. Bacon. . . . To him was promised $30,000 as a fee, if he could induce the settlement of all the claims at half their just amount. Bacon took the contract and earned his fee and the Pacific went out like a candle.

So also disappeared the Occidental, the People's; the Union and the Fireman's Fund went on heavily assessing their stockholders. The National, California Home and San Francisco had previously wound up. The Builders was closed by the insurance commissioner. The only companies unhurt by the great disaster were the California, Merchants, and Home Mutual. Of these the Merchants never transacted fire business, and the Home Mutual, which had failed a couple of years previously, had been bought up and re-established by new proprietors under the management of the astute Harry Bigelow, who had quarreled with the Pacific, and was strictly a local company. The Commercial was formed in 1872 to take the place of the People's with the same stockholders and capital.

The repeal of the deposit law had brought back some thirty or forty agencies, and now the cry was unanimous for a restoration of the tariff and increase of rates of premium. The California resumed fire business under these improved conditions. I was appointed a committee to draw up the constitution of the new Board of Fire Underwriters, which I did in so stringent a manner, that it was nick-named the "Iron Clad Constitution," and had to be materially amended to secure its adoption. Our own fire business became an important branch from this time forward. We employed a general agent, planted the coast with local agents and gradually increased our clerical force as increased work demanded it. . . .

In 1872 occurred in San Francisco the great railroad agitation in which it was my lot to bear a prominent part.

All the world is familiar with the rise and progress of the Central Pacific Railroad Monopoly. Stanford, the two Crockers, Huntington, and Mark Hopkins, investing in 1862-4 only $250,000 of their own, had succeeded in eight years in making a profit . . . [which] they had partly employed in the purchase of every other railroad in the state, in the acquisition of every point on San Francisco Bay where ship and car could be brought together, and in obtaining the control of the California Steam Navigation Company. Only one desirable point in the bay was yet beyond their reach. They had not acquired Goat Island, which belonged to the Government. But they coveted it for depot purposes, as well as to forestall its possible occupation by some rival in the future; for during many years the idea of competition seemed to affect them, as a red flag does a bull. So they introduced a bill in the U. S. Senate, designed to give them the sole right to occupy that island for railroad purposes, and to connect it with Oakland by a railroad bridge or embankment.

Now it so happened that Fred McCrellish (or M'Crellish), editor and owner of the *Alta California*, then a leading organ, was likewise interested in the Sausalito Rancho, at which he had labored to induce the railroad to make their principal depot. In fact he had given them lands for that purpose at Tiburon Point. But noticing the movement at Washington, he realized that he was to be disappointed in this scheme and at once raised such a hue and cry in his paper, as waked the people to the fact that they were already besieged, surrounded and in danger of surrendering to five men the control of all the inland communication of the city!

Other papers joined promptly in sounding the alarm. Excitement everywhere prevailed. A mass meeting was held to denounce the "Goat Island Grab," and its proceedings culminated in the appointment of a permanent "Committee of 100" citizens, who were expected to remain in session until some means were found to rescue our city from the machinations of the monopolists. I was appointed on that committee, whose chairman was Mayor Alvord.[96]

My first labor herein was the preparation of a letter addressed to the six resident U. S. Engineers connected with the Army, Coast Guard, and Light House departments. This letter, signed by the mayor and twenty other prominent citizens, asked a series of seven important questions as to the effect upon the shoaling, etc., of the harbor, bay, and bar of the proposed bridge or embankment between Goat Island and Oakland or across the southern arm of the bay. It was promptly, fully, and clearly answered, and a map furnished by the Engineers, all of which were duly printed and published, thus uniting the public as one man, in opposition to the proposed work. (Note:—The embankment then so strongly objected to by the Engineers, has since [1888] been constructed for more than half the distance

without objection from anybody, and without any of the bad results anticipated by those scientific gentlemen!)[97]

After several weeks of frequent meetings and useless talk, it was decided in committee that the establishment of an entire transcontinental competing line would be the only sure means of combating our monopoly. The partly completed Atlantic and Pacific R. R. was the beginning of such a line. At that time that road (now the St. Louis and San Francisco) had reached Vinita in the Indian Territory, and then stopped, partly owing to want of funds, partly to the refusal of the Indians to permit its completion through their territory. But the corporation had a federal charter and a land grant of 25,000 acres per mile in the territories, and 12,500 acres per mile in the states through which it was to pass. Its route had been surveyed and located. It was officered by able railroad men. A law which Stanford and Company had promoted was still in force in California, whereby the people could vote in any county to issue bonds in aid of any railroad to any amount not exceeding 5% of the assessed value of the property therein. This made it possible for the city (then as always practically out of debt) to contribute $10,000,000 in aid of a competing road, or forty times as much as the monopoly had at starting. Why then not invite the Atlantic and Pacific people to a conference? This was done. They came.

A couple of palace cars containing the president and a number of the directors and chief officers of the company, the mayor and several of the common council of St. Louis, a large delegation from the board of trade and chamber of commerce of that city—some thirty eminent gentlemen in all—came and spent a week with the Committee of 100. The last day was a field day. All day long the room of our chamber of commerce was crowded by an enthused audience listening to the speakers of that delegation, among whom were Gen. Clinton B. Fiske, Mayor Brown, Hon. H. T. Blow, ex-Mayor Nathan Cole, B. R. Bonner, president of the St. Louis board of trade, Francis B. Hayes, president of the Atlantic & Pacific R. R. Co., and Andrew Pierce, its chief constructor, afterwards its president. At the conclusion of the last speech, I moved that a committee of three from our committee be appointed to proceed to St. Louis and Boston (where the principal office of the road was kept) and there thoroughly investigate the condition of the Atlantic and Pacific, and if found satisfactory, that they ascertain on what terms the people and city of San Francisco could be admitted into its ownership and control with a view to its speedy completion across the continent. The motion was carried unanimously, and R. G. Sneath, C. T. Hopkins and John S. Hagar were appointed on the committee.

Sneath and I accepted the invitation of the A. & P. directors to return in their palace car as their guests. Hagar did not start until a week later. . . .

Yet San Francisco depended more on him than on either of the other members, for he had been an office-holder for years and was a well-known public man.

Soon finding out that Sneath was not a first-rate hand either to investigate the facts or write such a report as was expected of us, and being determined to do all I could to make a success of our mission, I went to work at once to get all the complicated history and condition of the corporation, which was an old one, had gone through many hands and changes, and had recently been entirely reorganized. The report was long and cost a great deal of hard work. Pending its preparation we were the guests of the mayor and the company, who did everything we would allow, to entertain us. . . .

Our examination completed, we proceeded to Boston at once, to attend the annual meeting of the company. We remained there one week, during which we obtained the conditions on which the directors were willing to deal with San Francisco subscribers. We then returned to St. Louis.

An excursion having been planned to Springfield on the line of the road—where a public reception was tendered us by the mayor and council of that city—I had my first opportunity of making a speech to the crowds that everywhere followed us. . . . Gen. C. B. Fiske, the chairman, and his friends were satisfied that we could produce a good effect on the larger stage of St. Louis, in starting the rage for stock subscription there, which was a part of the plan; and a meeting was called at the Southern Hotel at which we were all advertised to appear; and also Hon. T. G. Phelps, ex-member of congress from San Francisco, who had joined us, though he was not on our committee.

Pending our preparation for this meeting, I took my now completed report to Judge Hagar for his signature. . . . I sat down, read and explained the report, which took two hours. He listened to it attentively and when I had finished, he wrote his name at the foot with the remark, "I would not have missed signing that report for $10,000."

It made him U. S. senator within the year. It gave Sneath a manager's berth in a big bank at $10,000 a year! It gave me nothing except more growls from my directors for not confining my work to their service!

We addressed the St. Louis meeting according to the announcement. Our speeches were all printed in full in the *Democrat* and *Republican*, both papers of large circulation. The board of trade appointed a committee to go over our report and verify it, which they did, and Sneath and I returned home with it. . . .

During our absence the monopoly had not been idle. Their first move was to divide the opposition. They captured the *Alta California* by incorporating a new railroad company, to build a line from Tiburon Point to connect with their main line at Binicia, thus giving McCrellish the promise

of his coveted depot on the Sausalito Rancho, though they never redeemed it. Stanford also advanced to M'Crellish $60,000 on a chattel mortgage of the *Alta*—a mortgage which likewise was never redeemed, but was foreclosed on M'Crellish's death some years later.[98]

(To be continued)

NOTES

94. In this connection, the variation in receipts of lumber at San Francisco during the decade of the 1870's, reflecting extreme variation in constructional demands, might be pointed out: in 1872 over 6,000,000 railroad ties and 673,000 telegraph poles entered the port; in 1876, the figures for these two categories had fallen to 108,000 ties and 177,662 poles. *Trans. Calif. State Agr. Soc., year 1877* (Sacramento, 1878), pp. 148-49, where the schedule for prices of pine may be found. Oregon and Puget Sound pine was said to be in greater demand than California redwood.

95. For a full account of the fire in the Bancroft Building at 721 Market Street on the afternoon of April 30, 1886, see John W. Caughey, *Hubert Howe Bancroft* (Berkeley, 1946), pp. 301 ff.

96. Before taking office in 1872 as mayor of San Francisco, William Alvord was president of the Pacific Rolling Mill Co. and vice-president of the Pacific Insurance Co. He became park commissioner after serving as mayor. San Francisco *Directory*, 1871-1874.

97. Copies of the telegrams "concerning Yerba Buena or Goat Island," addressed to President Grant by the board of supervisors and the chamber of commerce of San Francisco, are given in 42d Cong., 2d sess., H. Ex. Doc. 195, pp. 1-4. The affair is reported in full in *The Goat Island Grant* (San Francisco, 1872), including, on pp. 9-10, the list of 120 "vice-presidents most of whom occupied seats on the stand" at the mass meeting. On pp. 10-14 may be found the resolutions passed at the meeting. See also *Alta California*, Apr. 1, 1872, for the "Opinions of U. S. Engineers on Goat Island and Bridges across the Bay."

98. According to E. T. H. Bunje *et al*, *Journals of the Golden Gate, 1846-1936* (typewritten; Berkeley, 1936), p. 16, the *Alta California* was sold to F. McCrellish & Co. on Dec. 2, 1856. He is said to have "acted as editor for several years, but Samuel Seabough is mentioned among the more illustrious tenants of the editorial chair."

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

ANDRAE, ELSBETH
The Dear Old Boys in Blue; Memories of the Early Days of the Veterans Administration Center, Los Angeles. San Francisco, Reynard Press, 1948. 25 pp.

BLACK, JAMES B.
California "Stored with Many Blessings Fit for the Use of Man." New York, Newcomen Society of England, 1948. 52 pp. illus.

BOOK CLUB OF CALIFORNIA, SAN FRANCISCO
Keepsake for 1948: Letters of the Gold Discovery. Twelve numbers. Issued gratis, to members only.

CADY, THERON G.
Tales of the San Francisco Peninsula. San Carlos, C-T Publishers, c1948. 38 pp. illus. $0.50.

[CAMERON, ROY S.]
History of Public Transit in San Francisco, 1850-1948. San Francisco, Transportation Technical Committee of the Departments of Public Works, Public Utilities, Police, and City Planning, 1948. 69 pp.

[COULTER, EDITH M. AND BANCROFT, ELEANOR A., comps.]
13 California Towns from the Original Drawings. San Francisco, Book Club of California, 1947. [34] pp. illus. $15.00.

CULLIMORE, CLARENCE
Santa Barbara Adobes. [Bakersfield] Santa Barbara Book Publishing Company [1948]. xxiii + 223 pp. illus. $4.90.

DAVIS, H. P.
Gold Rush Days in Nevada City. Nevada City, Berliner & McGinnis, 1948. xi + 64 pp. illus. paper $1.00. cloth $2.00.

DOWNEY, SHERIDAN
Truth about the Tidelands. San Francisco, 1948. v + 74 pp.

DRURY, WELLS
An Editor on the Comstock Lode; foreword by Ella Bishop Drury. Palo Alto, Pacific Books [c1948]. xx + 307 pp. illus. $3.75. (Centennial Edition)

FARQUHAR, FRANCIS P.
The Grizzly Bear Hunter of California; A Biographical Essay. San Francisco, Grabhorn Press, 1948. 16 pp.

FERGUSON, CHARLES D.
California Gold Fields; foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan. Oakland, Biobooks, 1948. xvii + 163 pp. illus. $10.00.

FINNIE, RICHARD, comp. and ed.
Marinship; the History of a Wartime Shipyard Told by Some of the People Who Helped Build the Ships, Sausalito, California, 1942-1945. San Francisco, 1947. xii + 403 pp. illus. For private distribution only.

HAMELE, OTTAMAR
When Destiny Called; A Story of the Doniphan Expedition in the Mexican War. San Antonio, Tex., Naylor Company [c1948]. ix + 236 pp. $3.00.

HOBART, ALICE TISDALE
The Cleft Rock. Indianapolis, New York, Bobbs-Merrill Company [c1948]. 376 pp. $3.00.

Hoover, Mildred Brooke, Rensch, H. E., and Rensch, E. G.
Historic Spots in California; revised by Ruth Teiser with an introduction by Robert Glass Cleland. Stanford, Stanford University Press [c1948]. xiv + 411 pp. illus. $5.00.

Hunt, Rockwell D.
California Ghost Towns Live Again; foreword by Robert E. Burns. Stockton, College of the Pacific, 1948. 69 pp. illus. $1.25. (Publications of the California History Foundation, No. 1)

Johnston, Wm. G.
Overland to California; foreword by Jos. A. Sullivan. Oakland, Biobooks, 1948. l + 272 pp. illus. $15.00.

Leete, Harley M., Jr.
Sketches of the Gold Country. [Nevada City, Nugget Press, c1947.] 37 pp. illus. $0.75.

MacPhail, Archibald
Of Men and Fire; A Story of Fire Insurance in the Far West. San Francisco, 1948. 148 pp. illus.

Marckhoff, Fred R.
The Development of Currency and Banking in California. In The Coin Collector's Journal, Vol. 15, No. 3, New York, Wayte Raymond, Inc., May-June 1948. pp. 51-70. illus. $0.50.

Peattie, Roderick, ed.
The Sierra Nevada: The Range of Light; introduction by Donald Culross Peattie. New York, Vanguard Press, Inc. [c1947]. 398 pp. illus. $5.00.

Ryder, David Warren
They Wouldn't Take Ashes for an Answer. San Francisco, Fireman's Fund Insurance Company [c1948]. 41 pp. illus.

Taylor, Katherine Ames
Yosemite Trails and Tales. Stanford, Stanford University Press [1948]. 95 pp. illus. $2.50.

Tresidder, Mary Curry
The Trees of Yosemite. Stanford, Stanford University Press [1948]. xiv + 134 pp. illus. $2.00.

The Westerners. Los Angeles Corral
The Westerners Brand Book, [n. p.] Los Angeles Corral, 1947. 176 pp. illus.

Wheat, Carl I.
The Pioneer Press of California. Oakland, Biobooks, 1948. 31 pp. illus. $10.00.

Wood, Richard Coke
Murphys, Queen of the Sierra; A History of Murphys, Calaveras County, California. Angels Camp, Calaveras Californian [1948]. 88 pp. illus. $1.50.

Woodruff, Jacqueline McCart
Benicia; the Promise of California. [Benicia, Benicia Centennial Committee, c1947.] 84 pp. illus. $1.50.

Wyatt, Roscoe and Arbuckle, Clyde
Historic Names, Persons and Places in Santa Clara County. San Jose, Pub. by the San Jose Chamber of Commerce for the California Pioneers of Santa Clara County, c1948. 42 pp. illus.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

May 1, 1948 to July 31, 1948

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MRS. J. K. ALLEN—Hutchings, James Mason, *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California* [San Francisco?, 1876?]. (Title page wanting.)

From AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY—Its *Proceedings ... April 16, 1947*, Worcester, Mass., 1948. Vol. 47, Pt. 1.

From AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS—*50 Years Young!* San Francisco, 1948.

From MRS. ELSBETH ANDRAE—Her: *The Dear Old Boys in Blue, Memories of the Early Days of the Veterans Administration Center, Los Angeles*, San Francisco, 1948.

From MRS. FRANK BENNETT—Berry, Alice Edna, *The Bushes and the Berrys*, Los Angeles, 1941.

From BERLINER & McGINNIS—Davis, H. P., *Gold Rush Days in Nevada City*, Nevada City, 1948.

From MRS. MAE HELENE BACON BOGGS—*Tunnels, Their Effect on Traffic Conditions, Business Development and Real Estate Values; Gateways to the Greater San Francisco*, San Francisco [ca. 1912].

From MR. THERON G. CADY—His: *Tales of the San Francisco Peninsula*, San Carlos, c1948.

From MR. JOHN CATLIN—Bostick, Daisy, *Carmel—Today and Yesterday*, Carmel, 1945.

From SENOR FERNANDO DAHNEN—Guzmán Cruchaga, Juan, *Chileans in California*, Santiago, 1947. (Documento "re" no. 13.)

From HON. SHERIDAN DOWNEY—His: *Truth About the Tidelands*, San Francisco, 1948.

From MRS. HENRY F. DRYDEN—Dryden, Henry Francis, *An Account of the Genealogy of Henry Francis Dryden*, San Francisco, c1941.

From E. I. DU PONT DE NEMOURS & CO.—Dutton, William S., *Du Pont, One Hundred and Forty Years*, New York, 1942.

From FIRE UNDERWRITERS ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC—MacPhail, Archibald, *Of Men and Fire; A Story of Fire Insurance in the Far West*, San Francisco, 1948.

From MRS. LUDWIG FRANK—Bartlett, W. P., *More Happenings in California; A Series of Sketches of the Great California Out-of-doors*, Boston, 1928. Vol. II.

From MR. GEORGE L. HARDING—*This Fortunate Man Edward DeWitt Taylor; Remarks upon the Occasion of a Dinner Given in His Honor at the Hotel St. Francis April 9, 1946 Under the Auspices of the Employing Printers' Association of San Francisco* [Stanford] 1948.

From DR. LAWRENCE KINNAIRD—*Herbert Ingram Priestley, 1875-1944* [by Lawrence Kinnaird, Frederic L. Paxson, Lesley Byrd Simpson, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1948?].

From MR. R. O. McGOUGAN—Black, James B., *California "Stored with Many Blessings fit for the Use of Man,"* New York, 1948.

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From DR. GEORGE H. KRESS—*Bulletin* of the Los Angeles County Medical Association, Vol. LXXVIII, No. 9 (May 6, 1948).

From MR. FRED R. MARCKHOFF—*His:* The Development of Currency and Banking in California, in *The Coin Collector's Journal,* Vol. 15, No. 3 (May-June 1948).

From MRS. HENRY LINCOLN PARISH—*Daily Alta California,* San Francisco, June 1, 1864; *Out West,* Vol. 4, No. 6 (December 1912), Vol. 5, No. 2-4 (February-April 1913); *Overland Monthly,* Vol. LIV, No. 4 (October 1909), Vol. LXX, No. 1 (July 1917); *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine,* Vol. 89, No. 8-11 (August-November 1931); Vol. 90, No. 1-3, 5-10 (January-April, July-December 1932).

From MR. SELWYN J. SHARP—*The Redwood Reforester,* Vol. II, No. 1.

From MR. PETER TAMONY—*His:* Frederick Marriott and the Aeroplane, in *American Notes & Queries; a Journal for the Curious,* Vol. VII, no. 2-3 (May-June 1947).

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—The *Huntington Library Quarterly,* Vol. XI, No. 1-2 (November 1947-February 1948).

MANUSCRIPTS

From MRS. CHARLES A. FLETCHER, MRS. ANNIE ROOT FROST, AND MR. GEORGE ROOT, JR.–Overland diary of Mrs. Harriet B. Griswold from Elgin, Illinois to California, April 25 to October 19, 1859.

From HON. WILLIAM KNOWLAND–Letter from San Francisco written on October 29, 1948 by Mrs. Thomas Holdup Stevens. (photostatic copy and typewritten transcript)

From MR. H. R. LEMONT–A Brief Account of Lt. Don José Joaquín Moraga and his son Lt. Don Gabriel Moraga; A Brief Account of the Life of Don Ignacio Martínez. (typewritten)

From MRS. JULIUS OPPENHEIMER–Pocket notebook of Joseph Olcovich.

From MR. AND MRS. GEORGE OSBORNE WILSON–Wilson, George Osborne, Journal of a Voyage from East Machias, State of Maine to San Francisco, Sept. 15, 1849 on board the Brig Oriental.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MRS. MAE HELENE BACON BOGGS–Two framed pictures of photographs of buildings and points of interest in Shasta, Shasta County, California; Photograph of General Wool, Fall River Indian, 1911, at the age of 100.

From MR. JOHN C. CROWE–Photograph: "Children of the Pioneers."

From MR. H. P. DAVIS–*Historical Map of Nevada City*, compiled from historical records and the official maps of H. S. Bradley 1869 [and] Edw. C. Uren 1932 and drawn by H. P. Davis 1948, [Nevada City] c1948.

From MR. JOSEPH H. HANDLON–A. Rosenfeld, pub., *San Francisco, 1862, from Russian Hill*, San Francisco, c1862. Photographic copy, framed.

From HOLIDAY–Three color photographs: William Penn Humphreys House; Looking down Montgomery Street; General Mark Clark and Brig. General Garrison Davidson before the Presidio.

From MR. LAWTON KENNEDY–Two framed photographs: Philip Baldwin Bekeart autographed by Bekeart to John Henry Nash, and Robert E. Cowan autographed by Cowan to John Henry Nash; Framed birthday greeting to Philip Baldwin Bekeart in the company of his friends on his seventieth birthday, San Francisco, October 1, 1931, autographed by Bekeart to John Henry Nash; Framed broadside: Invitation to join Archbishop Hanna of San Francisco who will bless the cornerstone of the Nash Place on Thursday, March 12, 1931 at 12.30 P. M. in the Contra Costa hills of California.

From MR. J. R. KNOWLAND–Collection of fifty-seven photographs from the National Archives.

From MRS. PHILIP VAN HORNE LANSDALE–Collection of photographs of the Missions of California, opera singers, actors and actresses, and the Presidio, San Francisco.

From MRS. STEVENS MacNEIL–Two photographs: Thomas Holdup Stevens II and Marie Christie Stevens.

From MISS EDITH NELSON–Three daguerreotypes: Isaac Magnus Nelson, Mrs. Isaac Magnus Nelson (Bridget Murphy) and John P. Nelson.

From OREGON TERRITORIAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION–Map: *Old Oregon Territory 1848*, Portland [1948?].

From MRS. HENRY LINCOLN PARISH–Map: *Panama Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco, February to December 1915, in celebration of the completion of the Panama Canal*, [n. p.] c1913.

From SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER–Two photographs of Alejandra Atherton

Pedley at Mission Dolores, June 30, 1948 and two photographs of the San Francisco birthday celebration ceremony, Mission Dolores, June 30, 1948.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MRS. MAE HELENE BACON BOGGS–Photostat copy of the charter of the pioneer Masonic Lodge in California, Western Star, No. 2 F. & A. M., Shasta, Shasta County, California.

From MR. PAUL EDWARD BOLLIER–*Songs of San Francisco: South of the Slot* by Miles Overholt, dedicated to South of Market Boys, Inc., South of Market Girls, South of the Slot, Tar Flat.

From MISS ESTO B. BROUGHTON–Completed biographical forms on pioneers in Stanislaus and Tuolumne counties.

From MRS. PHILIP VAN HORNE LANSDALE–Program: Carmen, Grand Opera House, San Francisco, Wednesday evening, May 14th, 1879.

From MISS EDITH NELSON–Marriage certificate of Isaac Magnus Nelson and Bridget Murphy, St. Mary's Cathedral, San Francisco, September 1, 1861.

From MRS. JULIUS OPPENHEIMER–Denman Grammar School medal awarded to Hattie Baruch, 1872; Certificate of membership in the Association of Pioneer Women of California of Hattie Olcovich; Denman Grammar School certificate of graduation of Hattie Baruch, 1872; Badge: The Association of Pioneer Women of California, 1849.

From MRS. HENRY LINCOLN PARISH–Miscellaneous collection of clippings.

From MR. A. W. PARTINGTON–Collection of papers from the law firm of Lippett and Lippett, Petaluma, California; Cards of delegates to the twenty-second triennial conclave of the Grand Encampment, Knights Templar of the United States at San Francisco, August 18th to 25th, 1883.

From MR. LYMAN D. ROOT–Top of silver cribbage board awarded to Mr. H. C. Colgate who won the cribbage championship of San Francisco, October 14, 1860.

From MR. DANIEL Q. TROY–Badge: Veteran Volunteer Fireman of California, Semi-centennial, Sept. 9th, 1900, San Francisco.

From MR. GEORGE COSSITT WHITE–*The Redwood Trees,* words and melody by George Cossitt White, arranged by Mary Scott White.

Meetings

At the luncheon meeting on June 10, 1948, Mrs. William Voiles of Oakland, assisted by her husband at the lantern, showed over sixty pictures of El Dorado County's early homes, public and private enterprises, and occasionally the enterprising citizens themselves, including views of the Edwin Markham episode and evidences of Schnell's Japanese colony of 1868. The slides had been selected as representative of the county from her remarkable collection of such pictures made from tin types, negatives, and faded photographs collected from many parts of the state.

To have been able to build a home of any pretension whatever on this frontier must have given the owner a feeling of his own stability–the first principle, by the way, in so far as any fine building *itself* is concerned, of the three laid down 2000 years ago by Vitruvius in his treatise on architecture, viz., stability, utility, and beauty. In fact, as Mrs. Voiles' audience

sat in the shade of the darkened Comstock Room at the Palace Hotel and heard her intelligently timed comments, the human side of each picture—the early home owner, or the early business owner in his desire to have his buildings communicate something of their fine qualities to his own reputation and permanency in this new country—had a way of recurring to the listeners' minds.

Naturally Mrs. Voiles started with Coloma. James W. Marshall's "raw" little house, to use the speaker's term, appeared among the first on the screen. This was the cabin to which he managed to give an atmosphere of home by setting out chestnut trees, the prized tree of the northern part of his native New Jersey. It will be remembered that even in his two drawings of Sutter's mill (see this QUARTERLY for June 1947) he had tried to give that industrial establishment a homy look by introducing an extra tree or two beyond what was needed to indicate the site. At heart, Marshall, the carpenter-builder, was a gardener; in the autumn of 1864 he had become so proficient in horticulture that he exhibited a large variety of grapes at an El Dorado County fair, an event which was reported in the Redwood City *San Mateo County Gazette* of September 23d of that year.

Fortunately for her audience, the speaker could not hide her own interest in growing things. Throughout the comments accompanying her pictures, she did not forget to mention such pleasant things as roses (40 varieties of them, for instance, planted in the 1850's in the garden of the Seeley house in Coloma), or the formal gardens attached to Att'y Gen. Thomas Williams' place, or the hawthorn tree on the site of the old French Gardens, an early Coloma resort.

If you own a home, or a business, you must be hard-boiled about marauders, or else you won't have it very long. So there was a picture of Coloma's second jail, erected at a cost of $16,000 for *declared* purposes of utility when the town was trying to keep the county seat; also a picture of the Williams-Markham house, for which sixteen timbers were taken from Coloma's first jail, made of hewn logs. Then there was the Starbuck house in Green Valley—"a little slice of a house" built of lumber from Sutter's mill and still intact. (The mill, it might be remarked here, was made of sawed timbers, as illustrated and described in Robert Heizer's article, also in the June 1947 QUARTERLY.)

But the sixty-five pictures thrown skillfully on the screen during the hour's entertainment brought to view some scenes now irrevocably gone: Peter Weimer's house, built probably in 1853 after he became postmaster of Coloma and which was destroyed by fire only two years ago; the Robertson house, antedating Coloma's building boom of 1853, torn down in 1909; the Sierra Nevada Hotel, where political parties rallied in the early 1850's, burnt, rebuilt and burnt again in 1925; the Clarke house, "self-respecting, unpretentious, typical of California architecture of the 1850's," as Mrs.

Voiles said, once the home of the once-county treasurer, Tom Reed, and later the property of Arthur Denver, from whom it passed to the latter's father-in-law, Robert Clarke—this historic treasure being "torn down in 1929."

Pictures of Placerville buildings and personalities followed those of Coloma; then came representative scenes in early Pleasant Valley, Fort Jim, Georgetown, to mention only a few. A house with expensive hopes and corresponding expensive disappointment was the Alcandra Bailey place at Pilot Hill. It was built in the grand manner and required some 300,000 bricks, all this effort being based on the expectation that the nearness of the railroad would give it patronage; but impish fate, and the railroad's engineers, decreed another route, so that the opening planned for May 1862 never came off. To mention one more building—one which Vitruvius, who condemned over-ornamentation, might have considered (along with the Clarke house mentioned above), as possessing beauty—there was the Rising Sun House at Rose Springs, exhibiting the "fine plain taste of Gold Rush architecture."

As an example of visual instruction in history and in certain of the arts, aside entirely from pure enjoyment, the Voiles series of pictures with the accompanying remarks should not be missed; and we are glad to report that its state-wide views are being added to, both in color and in the more usual black and white, by its devoted owners.

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Harvey M. Toy	San Francisco	Resuming Membership
Robert Trimingham	Pleasanton	Honor Award–University of California
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Mrs. J. L. Wolf	San Francisco	Mrs. Amanda Schlesinger
D. W. Woods	South Pasadena	A. L. Weil
Mrs. John M. Wyman	Piedmont	Membership Committee

Marginalia

Notes on authors in this Issue:

Many of the biographical facts of Walter Augustus Starr's life appear in the course of his article on his uncle, A. D. Starr, but there are others which might be set down. His mother was Kate Florence Calkin, daughter

of Milo Calkin, a New Englander, who came to California in 1849. He himself was born in San Francisco, March 14, 1877, and was graduated from the University of California in 1897, after which he spent three years along the Yukon River as prospector and as transporter of U. S. mail by dog sled from Skagway. Then commenced his connection with Starr & Co., as shown in his article. His experiences in the handling of grain, together with the actual growing of cereals on a large wheat farm in the San Joaquin Valley (1912-19), made him a valuable member of the U. S. Food Administration and the Grain Corporation from 1917 to 1920. In 1921 he joined Edward L. Eyre & Co., grain merchants and exporters of San Francisco, remaining with them until 1937 when he became vice-president of the Soundview Pulp Co. and later chairman of its board. He has been active also in the affairs of the Central Bank of Oakland. Mr. Starr was president of this Society in 1942, and served as a director for many years.

Luis Monguió, associate professor of Romance languages at Mills College, was born in Spain and for nine years served his native land in the diplomatic and consular services (1930-39). He then came to the United States where he became a naturalized citizen and helped fight her battles during 1944-46. His writings include articles on Spanish and Latin-American literature; also co-authorship with Arturo Torres-Rioseco of a widely used textbook, *Lector Hispanoamericano* (Boston, 1944).

William Hoy, who is managing editor of the *Chinese Press* (the only English-language Chinese newspaper published in continental United States), is a native of Alameda and has been doing research for a number of years in the history of the Chinese in America. During 1942-46 he served in the U. S. army air force, two of those years being spent in the China-Burma-India theater, working in the public relations office of the Chinese air service command, a unit of the Flying Tigers. Mr. Hoy has to his credit several articles and monographs on the California Chinese.

For biographical note on Maj. Fred B. Rogers, in connection with his paper "Early Posts of Del Norte County," see this QUARTERLY, XXVI (March 1947), 93. He is now at work collecting material on the early posts of Humboldt County.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

It was February 1920, and Hilary H. Crawford, a first world-war veteran of the battle of Meuse-Argonne, was passing through Chicago en route to Letterman Hospital in San Francisco. At the stop-over, the wind was blowing off Lake Michigan and was whipping ice against his face—the sidewalks were glassy. At the San Francisco Presidio "the birds were singing . . . the flowers were blooming . . ."; and he has been here ever since. Mr. Crawford is a

native of Washington, D. C., a member of the Bar of North Carolina, and in 1921 was admitted to practice in California.

At Merced in 1875 a tin-type photograph was taken of the "Children of the Pioneers," as it was called in the San Francisco *Argonaut's* California Golden Centennial number (May 14, 1948). We are informed by John C. Crowe that his mother, Mary Ann Crowe, born in Stockton in 1853, was one of the group.

Capt. John Leale, the father of Miss Marion Leale (listed in the March number), wrote the first history of California ferryboats, *Recollections of a Tule Sailor*, a title that informed the reader at the outset that he was an inland-water man. Miss Leale has to her credit thirty years of helping to steer the National League for Woman's Service of California, which is based on volunteer service of the best type obtainable. She began as the organization's executive secretary when it was founded in 1918. Her election to the National Institute of the Social Sciences, with its limited membership, is a compliment to the San Francisco organization as well as to Miss Leale, at present on the latter's board of directors.

Miss Sally Ann Mayock, recipient of one of this Society's honor awards (See New Members in March 1948 QUARTERLY), is a descendant of Stonewall Jackson ("Stoney") Mayock, who was born in Georgia and settled in Gilroy, and of three other ranching grandparents who were natives of California: Ellen Alicia Starbird Mayock (b. Sonora, 1869), and, on the maternal side, William Rutherford (b. near Sacramento, 1867), and Emma Perry Rutherford (b. Merced, 1874). It is to her mother's understanding of the problems of California grape-growing and wine-making after the death of her husband, Robert Stoney Mayock (b. Gilroy, 1892; U. C. 1917) in 1945, that the family's industry along these lines has continued to win recognition of a very superior sort for their manufacture of Bordeaux and Burgundy wines. The finest varieties of grapes, Cabernet Sauvignon and Pinot Noir, yielding these two wines, have been found to thrive on the sunny slopes of the Mayocks' Los Amigos Rancho at Mission San Jose and have replaced in large part the kinds grown by the vineyard's founders (1888), E. A. Grau and E. P. Werner, who gave the rancho its name and from whom Mr. Mayock purchased the property in 1936. Of historical interest in connection with the Mayocks' choice of varieties is the fact that their Cabernet Sauvignon acreage was budded with cuttings from E. H. Rixford's old La Questa vineyards at Woodside. Rixford was the author of the *Wine Press and the Cellar* (San Francisco, 1883). In the library of the Mayock family, by the way, is one of the most extensive collections of books on wines and foods on the Pacific coast. Miss Mayock was graduated from Mills College this past June and will continue her studies at

Stanford University under a fellowship from the southwest region of Soroptimists Clubs for graduate work in political science.

Esther Sharon Norris (Mrs. Lucius G. Norris) is a native of Oakland, although most of the ten children of her parents, William E. and Lillian Mygatt Sharon, were born in Virginia City. The Sharons lived in Nevada until early in the 1890's when the move was made to Oakland and thence to a ten-acre tract in Piedmont—an acre per child, it would seem. Mrs. Norris' father was a nephew of U. S. Senator William Sharon (from Nevada; term, March 1875-81). Her maternal grandparents, Milton and Helen Young Mygatt, were likewise residents of Virginia City, and the first commandery of the Knights Templars to be established there was the result of Mr. Mygatt's interest in that organization.

An unusual concentration of California shipping history lies behind Mrs. Georgiana Lacy Spalding's maiden name, most noteworthy of the men concerned with it being her mother's uncles: Alpheus B. Thompson, twenty-five of whose letters, edited by D. Mackenzie Brown, were recently published by the University of California Press under the title, *China Trade Days in California;* Francis A. Thompson, master of the *Pilgrim*, of which Richard H. Dana, Jr., wrote in *Two Years before the Mast* (New York, 1840); and Wildes Thompson, also a participant in the China trade, who settled in San Francisco and was an intimate friend of James King of William. Of special connection with Santa Barbara history aside from its trade with the Orient was A. B. Thompson's marriage to Francisca Carrillo, daughter of Carlos Antonio de Jesús Carrillo. Mrs. Spalding's uncle, Dixey Wildes Thompson, a '49er and member of the Society of California Pioneers, belonged to a generation nearer the present and won prominence in many off-the-sea activities, among them as a sheep owner on Santa Rosa Island, a breeder of fine horses (on which he placed saddles worthy of their distinguished horseflesh, one of his saddles, silver-mounted, being in the DeYoung Museum in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco), and as a stockholder and manager of the famous Arlington Hotel in Santa Barbara. To Mrs. Spalding and her sister, Mrs. John McC. Williamson, now deceased, much credit goes for the wisdom they have shown in consigning the records of these history-making early Californians to the care of the Santa Barbara Historical Society.

According to A. R. Van Noy, California can give a better answer to "the probing of the restless frontier American for his dream land than any other section of the nation." Mr. Van Noy was born in a Swedish neighborhood in Nebraska and talks the language. When he was twenty he went to Omaha where he began what has been a continuous affiliation with the Union Pacific. His work in the railroad's general claim department took

him to Salem, Oregon, in 1934, and in 1936 to Los Angeles, where he hopes to remain. Much of his time, he says, is spent in running down faked claims, chasing after tax matters, etc.—a restless life but picturesque. Whenever he had the chance, he talked with old residents and took notes; ". . . they all had stories to tell. Some time," he continues, "I hope to transcribe these notes, because I know many of them died unsung." This sounds like good QUARTERLY material. And perhaps his ability to speak Swedish may be of considerable assistance.

Mrs. Joseph B. Wheelwright is a daughter of J. J. Hollister of Santa Barbara whose father, W. W. Hollister, was one of the most enterprising among the large landholders of the state during the 1870's. In 1876 he testified before a joint special committee of Congress in regard to the attitude of such holders of land toward employing cheap labor, and their case was said never to have been stated "with greater clarity and frankness." An account of the testimony may be found in Paul S. Taylor's "Foundations of California Rural Society," in the September 1945 QUARTERLY, pages 207 ff. With her husband Mrs. Wheelwright studied psychology under Dr. C. G. Jung in Zurich. Knowledge of local history, she feels, will be helpful in her treatment of the sick, in that "reconciliation with tradition," to the extent that a person be made to feel that his roots in a community are actual—not ineffectual nor even lacking—and that they can be encouraged to penetrate the same soil where other persons have striven and perhaps failed, but have striven again possibly many times before success came (as was the case in many fields of endeavor here in the West), that this historical familiarity has an active therapeutic value.

Mrs. William E. Williams (Helen Follett Williams) is a native of Richmond, California. Having come there when it was a new town, she found herself lamenting that history seemed to have passed it by; but much reading, together with deciphering the tombstones in San Pablo, has convinced her that the reverse is distinctly the case. She has been made historian of the Contra Costa County centennials committee, and is, besides, women's page editor of the Richmond *Independent*, where she is publishing hitherto little-known incidents of early Richmond, compiled by herself, and a series of articles on Rancho San Pablo.

D. W. Woods, attorney of Los Angeles, was born in Pasadena, educated both in the East and at the University of Southern California, and was admitted to the Bar of California in 1915. Since 1916 he has been connected with the General Petroleum Company, of which he is now a director and general counsel.

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Francis P. Farquhar
James Farraher
H. G. Fenton
Roland C. Foerster
C. E. Fryer
Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Mrs. Frank R. Girard
Albert H. Gorie
Mrs. Joseph D. Grant
Allen Griffin
Mrs. Edward F. Haas
Gordon G. Hair
Richard C. Ham
George L. Harding
Carroll T. Harris
Mrs. A. L. Hawley, Jr.
Miss Lucy B. Heiskell
Mrs. I. W. Hellman
Griffith Henshaw
George Herrington
George Hoberg
Robert I. Hodgin, M.D.
J. James Hollister
Harold C. Holmes
James J. Hunter
Miss Olive Hyde
Mrs. E. L. Jacoby
Willard W. Keith
Lawton R. Kennedy
Mrs. Robert C. Kirkwood
Mrs. Samuel Knight
Frederick J. Koster
Charles F. Lambert
Mrs. Charles F. Lambert
Miss Elizabeth W. Latham
Mrs. Ada Edwards Laughlin
A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Leon Liebes
Mrs. W. J. Lindenberger
Frederick L. Lipman
Ralph B. Lloyd
Harvey B. Lyon
Atholl McBean
F. P. McCann
Garret McEnerney II
Parker S. Maddux
J. W. Mailliard, Jr.
Robert D. Marshall
Walter S. Martin
William Wallace Mein
Hugo L. Menke
Mrs. C. F. Michaels
James K. Moffitt
Miss Frances M. Molera
Mrs. E. G. Montgomery
John Francis Neylan
Jack Okell
Edwin Letts Oliver
Mrs. James R. Page
Mrs. Silas H. Palmer
T. M. Parks
Mrs. H. D. Pillsbury
John E. Porter
Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Potter
Richard S. Rheem
Francis William Rubke
Mrs. Walter Schilling
Frank Schwabacher
Frank R. Seaver
W. T. Sesnon, Jr.
Miss Helen Shafter
A. T. Shine
Joseph Silverman
F. J. Solinsky, Jr.
Walter A. Starr
Miss Lucy Ward Stebbins
Louis L. Stein, Jr.
Mrs. Sigmund Stern
Thomas W. Streeter
Mark Robert Sullivan
Joe G. Sweet
Mrs. Helen M. Thomas
Mrs. John Charles Thomas
Joseph S. Thompson
Mrs. M. C. Threlkeld
C. R. Tobin
Mrs. Henry W. Toulmin
A. L. Weil
Frank A. West
Frederic B. West, M.D.
Mrs. F. S. Whitwell
Mrs. Van Rensselaer Wilbur
Mrs. George Osborne Wilson
P. G. Winnett
Mrs. Dean Witter
Mrs. Samuel A. Wood
Loyd Wright

Mount Tamalpais
2,604 feet, NE. by N. ¼ N., 19 miles.

The Golden Gate.

Mount Diablo, NE. by E. ½ E., 47 miles.

Lime Point Fog-siren, NE. ¾ E., 20 miles. Point Lobos, NE. by E. ½ E., 18 miles.

The shores of the Gulf of the Farallones (from inside the Farallones).

PLATE 1

Reproduced from *Pacific Coast Pilot* (Washington, 1889), facing page 170

The Delayed Discovery of San Francisco Bay

By H. F. Raup

ONE of the mysteries of California's history, second only to the origin of the name itself, is the delayed discovery of the Golden Gate and San Francisco Bay. From the earliest voyage to Alta California, that of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo in 1542, until the land explorations of Gaspar de Portolá in 1769, this fine anchorage was passed by in favor of inferior locations such as Monterey Bay or Drakes Bay. The mystery is heightened by the fact that occasional vessels sailing from Manila to Acapulco raised the California coast in latitudes as high as 38° to 42° north and coasted southward without reporting a glimpse of the bay. The usual route, however, brought the galleons to anchor off Lower California in latitudes far below San Francisco Bay, for they turned southward and ran with the northwest winds as soon as possible after finding signs of nearby land. Normally the southward journey was begun about ten degrees of longitude west of the California coast.

The annual Manila galleon usually arrived off Alta California some time in September or October. This was not a particularly stormy time of the year, and weather conditions for the exploration of the coast should have been more favorable than at any other season, but given a tail wind of some force, with the end of a trans-Pacific voyage in sight, it would have been only human to make fast time for Mexico without landing more often than was absolutely necessary to replenish wood, water, and food. Further, the difficult character of the coast was well recognized and it is certain that there was little loitering as the end of the lengthy voyage neared.[1]

Casual or chance discovery of the bay by returning Manila ship captains was improbable under the circumstances, but even those Spanish explorers who had been specifically instructed to seek good anchorages never accomplished more than the discovery of wide bights or *ensenadas* such as Drakes Bay or Monterey Bay. The complete list of California coastal voyages for which we have accounts is short (see table on next page).

Disregarding the discoverer of San Francisco Bay, Portolá (or one of his men: Costansó, Crespi, Fages), the list provides us with four major explorations: those of Cabrillo and his pilot Ferrer or Ferrelo; Drake, Cermeño, and Vizcaíno. Of these, all but Drake traversed the coast in the winter season, when they chanced cyclonic storms which would have been severe tests of seaworthiness and navigational skill. As it happened, the accounts of the weather for the three Spanish voyages indicate bad storms in each case; for Cabrillo, "as great as any could be in Spain. . . . The sea was so high that it was frightful to see; the coast was bold and the mountains

very high."[10] Ferrer took command and returned to this coast on the first of March 1543, where he met the following conditions:

> ...at daybreak the wind shifted [from south-southwest] and came from the southwest with great fury, the seas coming from many sides, which molested them very much or broke over the ships.... As they could not lay to, they had to run before the wind to the northeast in the direction of land.... So they ran until three o'clock in the afternoon with great fear and travail as they saw that they were about to be wrecked. Already they saw many signs of land, which was near, such as birds and fresh logs, which came out of some rivers, although by reason of the great darkness land could not be seen.... A very strong rainstorm came up from the north, which made them run before it towards the south with lower foresails all night and all the following day until sunset. As there was a high sea running from the south, each time that it assailed them on the bow it passed over them as if over a rock. The wind shifted to the northwest and to the north-northwest with great fury, forcing them to run before it to the southeast and the east-southeast until Saturday, March 3....[11]

TABLE

Expedition	*Year*	*Month*	*Date*	*Sailing*	*Weather*
Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo	1542	Nov.	14	north	Severe storm near 38°[2]
" " "	1542	Nov.	18	south	High seas, great surf[3]
Bartolomé Ferrer or Ferrelo	1543	Feb.	25	north	Strong wind, high seas[4]
(Cabrillo's pilot)	1543	Mar.	1	south	Very strong wind and bad storm[5]
Francis Drake	1579	July	23	south	Fogs and cold[6]
Francisco Gali	1584	winter?			
Pedro de Unamuno	1587	Oct.	17?		
Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño	1595	Dec.	8	south	Bad storm[7]
Pedro Teixeira (?)	1600	Nov.	3		
Sebastián Vizcaíno	1603	Jan.	5	south	Somewhat severe wind[8]
(instructed to explore)					(ships separated)
Lope de Ulloa	1603	Nov.	10?		
Gaspar de Portolá	1769	Nov.	2		Seeking Drakes Bay, discovered
(by land)					San Francisco Bay[9]

For Cermeño, the threat of Ferrer's shipwreck became an actuality. In November 1595, he lost his ship, the *San Agustín*, in a bad storm at Drakes Bay and was forced southward in his longboat, unable to attempt further exploration of the coast. The abstract of his account of the voyage past the latitude of San Francisco Bay on Friday, December 8, 1595, indicates that he was too far from land to see the Golden Gate entrance:

> ...Captain Sebastián Rodríguez departed from the Puerto y Bahia de San Francisco [Drakes Bay].... He passed close to the [Farallon] islands on the mainland [east] side about a league away.... This day he sailed about ten leagues.... No observation was made ... as the day was cloudy and there was a strong wind. He sailed a great deal ... *without discovering in all this distance anything worth noting down.*[12]

Obviously Cermeño, in an open makeshift boat, overloaded with men, running before a strong wind on a day too cloudy to make latitude observations, and at considerable distance from the mainland, had little time to discover anything of note.

Vizcaíno, the last of the Spaniards to investigate the coast seeking good anchorages, experienced severe storms in the vicinity of Cape Mendocino in January 1603. He was forced to sail southward as rapidly as possible with only five of his men in physical condition for active sea duty. The "somewhat severe wind" he experienced was of sufficient force to separate the ships of his expedition. On the return from Cape Mendocino, Vizcaíno was in no more favorable position than Cermeño for taking leisurely observations of coastal indentations or notes on geographical conditions.

The Englishman, Francis Drake, on his expedition around the world, enjoyed more favorable conditions off the California coast in 1579 than any of the Spaniards who have left accounts of their experiences. Even so, Drake's chronicler, Francis Fletcher, commented on the prevalence of fog and cold weather. To quote Henry R. Wagner:

> The question is frequently asked, why did Drake not discover the Golden Gate and the magnificent bay within? ... the answer is easy. He never came near enough to see it. Even assuming that he was at Drakes bay [rather than Trinidad Bay] and the southeast Farallon, both extremely unlikely, the Golden Gate is not visible from either place. Two Spanish expeditions passed inside the Farallones within the next twenty-five years, both of them looking for ports, and neither saw the Golden Gate.[13]

Little is known of weather conditions at the time others visited this coast before 1769, but apparently winter weather was experienced by Gali and the others, though Pedro de Unamuno arrived in October, probably at a latitude far below San Francisco. Their accounts are insufficiently detailed as to weather conditions, but it is apparent that not one of them saw the Golden Gate. In the words of George Davidson: "It thus appears that we have no published official record of any Spanish or English vessels having seen the Golden Gate during the early years of Spain's activity in discovery and exploration in the northeast Pacific."[14]

All the expeditions for which accounts are extant reached the California coast in the winter half-year save that of Drake. The earliest was that of Pedro de Unamuno some time in October; the latest was Ferrer on March 1. Thus the summer advection fogs so characteristic of San Francisco Bay from June through August would not have been a factor contributing to the concealment of the bay. Rather, the winter cyclonic storms heading in from the Pacific were the principal handicap to coastal exploration in these latitudes.

These storms generally involve high wind velocities and high seas; prevailing wind direction during the winter at Point Reyes is northwest, and north winds prevail at San Francisco in December and January. Except for July and August, when winds blow from the southwest, San Francisco experiences westerly winds, which to a sailor hold the constant threat of piling up the vessel on a shore to leeward—an unknown coast lined with towering cliffs in many places, offshore stacks, and fringed by heavy surf.

The difficulty of the sea approach to San Francisco Bay is particularly great in periods of storm. The *Pacific Coast Pilot*[15] remarks on the thick weather "which prevails during a considerable portion of the year." Then caution is required, since currents are uncertain and of some velocity. "If the bar is breaking, strangers [i. e., navigators unfamiliar with the coast] should stand offshore and wait for more favorable conditions." Under the circumstances, it is not surprising to find that pilots put far out at sea to avoid the coast dangers, thus overlooking the possibility of safe anchorage behind the headlands marking the entrance to the Golden Gate.

One curious aspect of the whole problem concerns the chance that the explorers may have seen the current of fresh water which the Sacramento-San Joaquin drainage system pours into the sea through San Francisco Bay and the Golden Gate. This is a conspicuous feature outside the Gate during the spring when quantities of yellowish alluvium are carried some distance out to sea, and are spread all the way to Bolinas on the north.[16] But it should be remembered that these river waters were reasonably free of silt before the cultivation of the land was begun in California, and that it is probable that little fluviatile material was carried outside the bay in the time of Cermeño or Drake. This present-day indicator of fresh water, therefore, may be largely discounted in considering the historical geography of the bay. Further, it should be noted that only Ferrer and Vizcaíno were off this coast in January, February, and March, and both of these sailors were there during severe storms when abnormal conditions of the coastal currents prevailed.

One important consideration with reference to the approach to the Golden Gate is the presence of a dangerous crescent-shaped shoal lying but a short distance outside the Heads. The northern part of this shoal or bar is the famous "Potato Patch," which has a depth of about thirty-five feet below the surface at low tide. George Davidson[17] writes that there is no hidden danger on the bar or its approaches, but nevertheless the bar often is covered with choppy water even in good weather, and it might indeed seem dangerous holding ground to sailors in a small boat who did not know the coast. To Ferrer or Cermeño and their men the sight of waves breaking on this shoal, assuming that they were even this near land, would have been good reason for a run to the open sea to avoid the threat of shipwreck.

Even the fair-weather approach to the Golden Gate is deceptive. Davidson[18] says that "on approaching [the Gate] in good weather it is difficult to imagine that a deep channel lies ahead, so clear is the atmosphere, and so well defined the Contra Costa mountains [Berkeley Hills] beyond the bay." He believed the entrance to the Gate generally was very safe[19] but failed to take into account the many vessels, both steam and sail, which have been lost outside the entrance. These include the clipper ship *San*

Francisco, lost on Point Bonita; the steamer *Panama*, lost near Mile Rocks; the ship *Samoset*, wrecked on Fort Point, and the ship *S.S. Lewis*, wrecked near Duxbury Point on April 19, 1853. The British steamer *Escambia* of 3,000 tons foundered on the San Francisco bar in 36 feet of water on June 19, 1882. The *Tennessee* was lost in March, 1853, outside the bay near Bolinas Bay; "dense fogs, which had misled the captain as to the ship's position, were the cause of the vessel striking the shore."[20] The authors of the *Annals of San Francisco* state that twenty-three large vessels had been wrecked, stranded or damaged around San Francisco Bay prior to 1854, and the losses within a period of four years exceeded a million and a half dollars.[21] Other wrecks in the vicinity of the Golden Gate include the *Emma Louisa Morgan*, the *Francis*, the *Governor*, *Josephine*, the *Clark*, *Western Shore*, *Oxford*, *Sea Nymph*, *Warrior Queen*, *Eden*, and the *Rio de Janeiro*. These are only a few of the marine disasters which have occurred in the vicinity of San Francisco Bay.

The first entry of the Bay of San Francisco from the sea occurred in midsummer of 1775, and the vessel to enjoy the honor was the packet boat *San Carlos*, in command of Juan Manuel de Ayala. It was a difficult approach to the Golden Gate, and the little vessel was buffeted by adverse winds and currents from the time of her arrival off the Heads on July 28 until August 5. Most of the intervening time was spent beating back and forth attempting to find favorable currents and winds for the approach to the Gate. Finally, late on the 5th in a west-southwest wind, the craft was able to enter the strait and anchor for the night under Fort Point. In this case, unfavorable winds of some force and very strong currents made it difficult to keep the vessel under control and there was some concern lest it should be wrecked at the entrance.[22]

Apparently the misfortune of unfavorable weather conditions was an important consideration affecting the delayed discovery of San Francisco Bay, but other conditions involving the geography of the California coast in 37° of north latitude shed some light on the problem. Two peninsulas—Marin on the north and San Francisco on the south—are separated by the Golden Gate, making of San Francisco Bay a nearly landlocked lake or sea. The Marin peninsula is the more rugged of the two, with its western shore almost a continuous rocky cliff, and its mountain "spine" topped by Mount Tamalpais, rising to an altitude of 2,604 feet. The San Francisco peninsula, whose western side is a long and straight sandy beach, rises inland as a dune-veneered hilly upland to some 900 feet. On the eastern side of San Francisco Bay, the Berkeley Hills, about 1,000 feet in height at their summit level, form a continuous backdrop for any navigator entering the Golden Gate (Pl. 1), unless the hills are shrouded in summer fogs.

Just inside the strait, a small rocky island, Alcatraz, extends for 1,600 feet

at right angles to the entrance of the bay. The shores of the strait itself are rugged and cliff-bordered, rising 300 to 900 feet above the sea. Promontories extend into the Golden Gate from both peninsulas. The most prominent of these, Fort Point, displays a pronounced fault escarpment on its western face. At its most constricted point, the Gate is only seven-eighths of a mile from one peninsula to the other.

Now it has been shown in earlier paragraphs that the first explorers off this coast encountered weather which did not favor coastal investigations; it can also be shown that even had perfect weather prevailed, the topography of this shore would have served well to conceal the seaward entrance to the Golden Gate. An inspection of the accompanying map (Pl. 2) will indicate a most interesting and effective screening of the bay. The northern and southern shores of the Golden Gate are sheer in many places, rising to heights of 900 feet at Lime Point on the north, and to 100-200 feet at Fort Point on the south. Immediately inside the Gate are two islands, the larger, Angel Island, at the north, and the above-mentioned Alcatraz, situated squarely at the eastern end of the strait. Between these two islands I have indicated Gap A and Gap B on the map. A vessel approaching from the north (the *Golden Hinde*, for example, had she been in near the shore) would not have seen Gap B until in line with Point Bonita and North Beach (point Y) and Fort Point and Alcatraz—an arc of 22°. Continuing southward, she would bring Gap A in view when in line with Point Bonita and Alcatraz, and Fort Point and Angel Island—an arc of 33°. Considering the relatively low mastheads on the small Spanish or English vessels, the navigators would need to be near shore before the gaps would be apparent. And note further that the "white water" of the bar completely occupies the angle from points G to M, a matter in itself sufficiently threatening to discourage an approach to land at this point.

The significant consideration now appears; *not until a vessel is within the Golden Gate at the star is it possible to see the entire distance from point X to point Y* and realize that this narrow and difficult approach is in reality the entrance to the magnificent bay which lies behind the coastal mountains and the peninsulas. And even then, the Berkeley Hills, located but a short distance to the east, form a continuous curtain to block the eastward view.

Under these circumstances, it is small wonder that eventual discovery of the bay was made by land rather than by sea, or that the first explorations of the coast failed to reveal an anchorage of greater usefulness than the exposed location at Monterey Bay or the even more unsatisfactory landing at Trinidad Bay. In a sense, the delayed discovery of San Francisco Bay was a tribute to the seamanship and good judgment of Cabrillo, Ferrer, Drake, Cermeño, and Vizcaíno, and perhaps others, for no one but a fool would have faced adverse winds, strong currents, contrary tides, waves

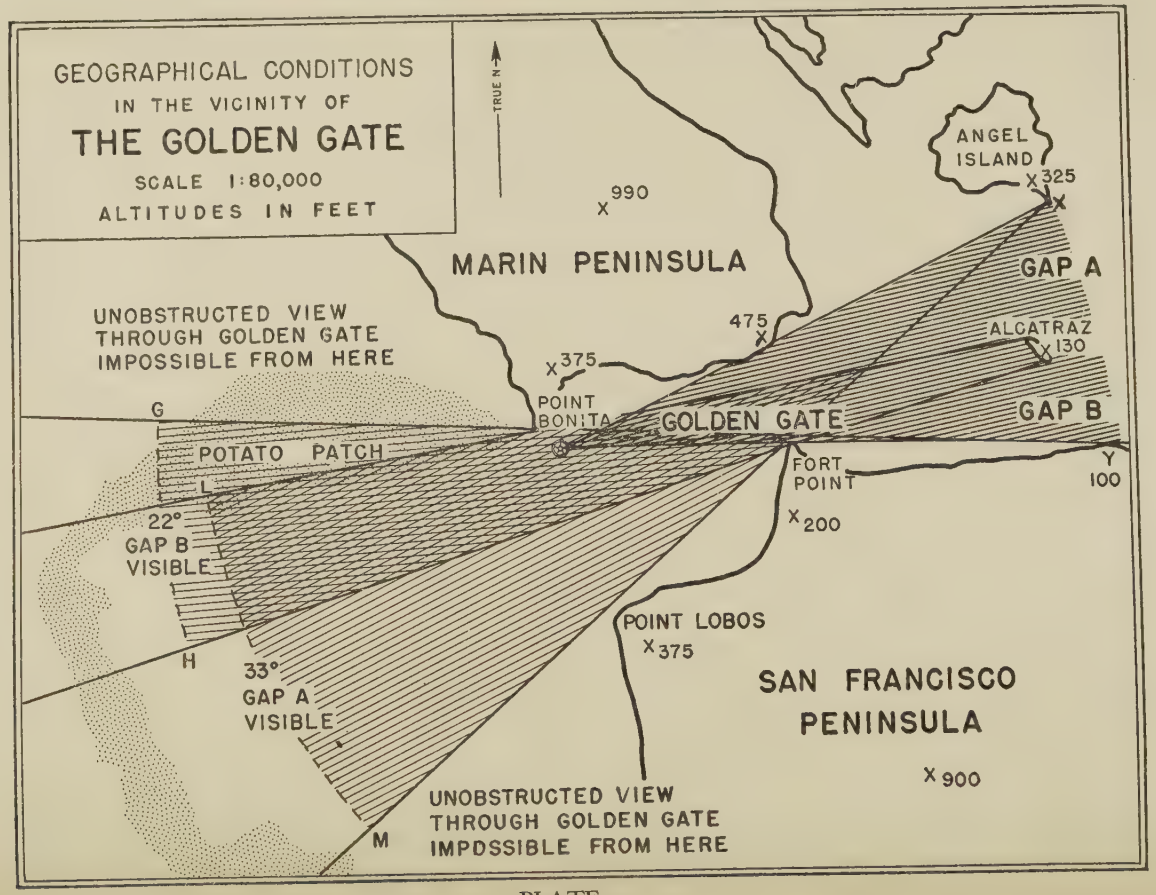
GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS
IN THE VICINITY OF
THE GOLDEN GATE
SCALE 1:80,000
ALTITUDES IN FEET
TRUE N
X 990
MARIN PENINSULA
ANGEL ISLAND
X 325
GAP A
UNOBSTRUCTED VIEW
THROUGH GOLDEN GATE
IMPOSSIBLE FROM HERE
475
X
ALCATRAZ
X 130
X 375
POINT BONITA
GOLDEN GATE
GAP B
G
POTATO PATCH
FORT POINT
Y
100
L
22°
GAP B
VISIBLE
X 200
POINT LOBOS
X 375
H
33°
GAP A
VISIBLE
SAN FRANCISCO
PENINSULA
X 900
UNOBSTRUCTED VIEW
THROUGH GOLDEN GATE
IMPOSSIBLE FROM HERE
M

PLATE 2

breaking upon an offshore bar, and an inhospitable coast, expecting to find a sheltered anchorage at the end of the ordeal, if indeed he and his crew came through the experience alive.

NOTES

1. William L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York, 1939), p. 233.

2. Henry Raup Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco, 1929), p. 89. I am indebted to Dr. Wagner for suggestions and criticisms on this short paper.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 90. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 91. 5. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

6. Henry Raup Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World, its Aims and its Achievements* (San Francisco, 1926), p. 141.

7. The abstract of Cermeño's account, in translation, appears in Wagner, *Spanish Voyages . . .*, p. 160.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

9. John W. Caughey, *California* (New York, 1940), p. 130.

10. Henry Raup Wagner, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo* (San Francisco, 1941), pp. 53-54.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 59. The description of the changes in wind directions follows perfectly the usual pattern of winds centering counter-clockwise around a low pressure area of the northern hemisphere.

12. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages*, p. 160. The italics are mine.

13. Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage*, p. 168. See also Herbert E. Bolton's discussion of the subject in "Drake's Plate of Brass," this QUARTERLY, XVI (March 1937), 6, 15 (notes 13 and 15).

14. George Davidson, *The Discovery of San Francisco Bay* (San Francisco, 1907), p. 95.

15. *Pacific Coast Pilot* (Sixth edition, Washington, 1942), p. 121.

16. Personal communication from Mr. Harry A. Dutton to Dr. Robert Cleland, Jan. 21, 1948, and to Dr. Henry R. Wagner, Jan. 29, 1948.

17. *Pacific Coast Pilot* (Washington, 1889), p. 162.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 170. 19. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

20. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), p. 434.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 516-17.

22. E. J. Molera, *The Log of the San Carlos* (San Francisco, 1909), pp. 55-56.

Larkin to His Sons

Edited by A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.*

Monterey California
July 1 1848

My dear Sons[1]

Although I often write to you, it appears your opportunity of forwarding letters to me will be but seldom until the expected Panama steamers are on their station.[2] For some time past the squadron has been off San Blas and Mazatlan. In California we have but little to do with the war. When you were here and under the Mexican flag, we had on some occasions some little excitement by the getting up or putting down of a revolution.[3] The greatest excitement I have ever seen is now in our midst. in February some Mormons and others discovered gold on the banks of a branch of the Sacramento River, called the Rio de los Americanos. I understand they kept their discovery a secret until May, when with a few thousand dollars of gold each they left the river and reported progress, this of course sent many people "prospecting" Going from one place to another in quest of gold. By June they had filled their pockets and found another "Placer," last month I had occasion to visit the town of San Francisco before leaving this town I had placed but little faith in the reports of gold being found in such large quantities, that gold should be found in some parts of California was not at all un-natural. In San Francisco I found the gold diggers arriving every day by land and water with the gold to shew for itself: These men came down to purchase tools, clothing, provisions, pay their debts or to take away their families: in two weeks three fourths of the houses in San Francisco were shut up. Most every Mechanic and workman quit their employment. One news paper stopted [*sic*] for want both of workmen and readers.[4] the other paper has since issued its last number

There was such a demand for picks, crowbars tin pans & turned wooden bowls[5] that the two weeks I was there the makers were earning twenty or thirty dollars per day. Some of these have since broke up and gone to the "placer" which as you are aware means a place where gold is found in sand or loose dirt and not in mines—rather a republican working ground where one workman is equal to another, where no one can be hired and each man must do his own work even to cooking—wash out gold six days in the week and his clothes on Sunday, where strenght [*sic*] and hands are an over match for head and knowledge. From San Francisco I took passage in a Launch for New Helvetia or Capt Sutter's fort. The first day I passed

*Original letter is in the collection of Larkin material belonging to Dr. Leonard.

Benicia[6]—(which I found almost deserted) and reached over twenty miles up the Sacramento, thence for three days I was moving at a snail's pace up the river for want of wind and almost tormented to death by mosquitoes, that filled the air, at some places we could not land to cook our meals. The Sacramento and its branches offers every facility for steam boats. if one were running from San Francisco to Benicia thence to Sutter's it would clear its cost in a very short time. And the advantages afforded by the boat to trade and carrying of passengers would increase bouth [both?] to double in six months. The distance is about 150 miles, but few turns of the river, by no means dangerous, no snags or anything of consequence to impede the boat, the passage would be performed in 12 or 18 hours: the boat could carry 100 to 150 tons of merchandise and 75 or 100 passengers and would be of immense advantage to San Francisco and the gold region.[7] On the fourth day I landed at Sutter's Embacadora [*sic*] two miles from the fort, now a fort no more.

The indians being tame and peaceable, I obtained two horses at six dollars a piece to take myself and clerk forty miles up the west bank of the Sacramento: these animals were not worth thirty dollars each. I hired an indian to take them back and by chance he succeeded in doing so. It is very common here to loose horses when they are turned out to grass and I expected to have had to pay for these. Next day with other horses I rode fifty miles to my Rancho,[8] where I found the man (an american) inchar[g]e, preparing for the gold diggings; he was dressing up as many of our wild and entirely naked indians, as he could muster shirts and pantaloons for, he thought naked indians might do on the upper part of the Sacramento but not to move among two thousand 2000 people at the gold placer. I remained on the rancho sufficient time to learn that the indians were becoming good workmen. I had a quantity of wheat ready for cutting, had about 100 colts over 200 calves and double that number of hogs of this years marking, as it was the first years marking all was doing as well as I expected. Here I took horses of my own and reached the fort 80 or 90 miles in little over a day, the second days ride on the same animals carried me to the placer (The thermometer from 90 to 100 but no mosquitoes) having come over a 100 miles in two days. Once upon the "Placer of California" I found nothing I had previously heard exagerated [*sic*]. I was in truth surrounded by gold—there were hundreds of men with a shovel and tinpan (3 or 4 inches deep 12 to 14 inches in diameter) obtaining from $5 to $30 [$50? indistinct] per day. I should think that ninety out of every hundred men were laying by one ounce of gold every day worth $17 or $18 in Boston. Their method was simple, only to fill the pan with loose dirt as they dug it up, go into running water with it, for 20 or 30 minutes stir it up with the hand, throwing out in the mean time the stones the light dirt soon floats off and leaves a spoonful of black sand or emery, in this spoonfull

of emery will be found from one to five dollars worth of gold from the size of pins point to that of a grain of wheat. There are at the "placer" many small companies, of four or five men, who with 100 feet of boards in a few hours make a kind of cradle 10 or 12 feet long and 20 or 30 inches wide. I remained two nights at the tent owned by eight men who worked two of these rough made machines, each afternoon I was present. these eight men turned out about one pound of pure gold to each machine. this was four ounces per man. My own calculation was about fifty dollars a day to each man.[9] On the other hand I saw some men who made but little, from a pail of dirt. Standing at the edge of the river I filled a tinpan three times and in thirty minutes obtained a tea spoonful of emery, containing $2 or $3 worth of gold. a part of which I enclose for you, having blown off most of the sand.

It is the opinion generally that the gold regions extend over many rivers and can not be exhausted in a hundred years. I believe it will not for three or four years perhaps longer millions of gold will be exported from these different "*placers*." Gold has been discovered a few miles from my Feather River Rancho. Whether this rancho (5 leagues on the river) has gold or not I can not now inform you. I was one month from home, became tired down and sick and therefore was happy to reach our own house, if only to obtain a good bed and three meals per day having for some days put up with no bed and half a meal a day, hot sun and often no water to drink. generally travelling at night to avoid the heat of the day. I am however pleased with the placer (pronounced placera). I believe there is now being taken from the sand daily ten thousand dollars, and as the workmen increase the quantity of gold taken will likewise increase. When this will end we can not at present imagine. We only know that in the mean time all other business is almost entirely broken up.

Your affectionate Father

NOTES

1. In 1848, the year in which this letter was written, the ages of Larkin's sons would have been as follows: Thomas O. (b. 1834), 14 years old; Fred H. (b. 1837), 11 years; and Francis R. (b. 1840), 8 years. There had been an infant who died in 1836 and a daughter, Adelaide, deceased in 1846. Alfred O. was born the year of the letter. The year of Mrs. Sampson Tams' birth is not given. (From data in H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, San Francisco, 1884-90, IV, 707.) Reuben Underhill, *From Cowhides to Golden Fleece* (Stanford University Press, 1939), pp. 65-67, 255, says that Thomas O., Jr., was sent in 1840 to the Sandwich Islands and that in a year or two he was joined by his brother Frederick; that Thomas O. "stayed almost four years"; and that in 1844 they were moved from Oahu to Boston and later the third son also was sent east. There they remained "some years." Cf. note 3, below.

2. See John Haskell Kemble, "Genesis of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company," this

QUARTERLY, XIII (Sept. 1934), 240 ff, for the vessels and routes of the first U. S. merchant marine along the Pacific coast.

3. In his report dated Monterey, June 24, 1846, to James Buchanan, U. S. secretary of state, concerning the Bear Flag revolt (this QUARTERLY, I, Oct. 1922, 189-90); and in another dated July 10th to same *(ibid.,* VII, March 1928, 83-84), Larkin gives accounts of the political and military moves made by the several factions in the province. They must have been familiar happenings to his young sons; in fact, in a letter dated Monterey, June 21, 1846, to the U. S. commissioner in the Sandwich Islands *(ibid.,* VI, Dec. 1927, 364), Larkin expresses concern for the safety of his wife and three children, and his desire to send them to Honolulu on the barque *Angola,* lest the Californians should take possession of his house. See Soulé *et al, Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), pp. 763-64, for Mrs. Larkin's escape to San Francisco and the death of Adelaide, etc.

4. Bancroft, *op. cit.,* VI, 60-61, describes how the *Californian* on May 29, 1848, and the *Star* on June 14th spread their valedictions on fly-sheets and fainted "dead away."

5. See Aubrey Neasham, "Sutter's Sawmill," in *California Gold Discovery* (this Society, Spec. Publ. 21, 1948), pp. 17-18, for description of the ingenious ways employed to catch gold at the placers.

6. Bancroft, *op. cit.,* V, 674, shows how Robert Semple tried to "wake up" Larkin and make him take an active part in building Benicia. See also Zoe Green Radcliffe, "Robert Baylor Semple," this QUARTERLY, VI (June 1927), 149-50.

7. On Nov. 29 of the year before Larkin wrote this letter to his sons, the *Sitka* reached New Helvetia; and by the end of 1850 "there were twenty-eight steamboats on the Sacramento and Feather rivers alone." Jerry MacMullen, *Paddle-Wheel Days in California* (Stanford Univ. Press, c. 1944), pp. 4, and 17-18.

8. For Larkin's ranch properties, see Ogden Hoffman, *Reports on Land Cases....* (San Francisco, 1862): pp. 75-76, Francisco Larkin *et al,* claiming the Rancho de Larkin in Colusa County; Appendix, p. 18, Larkin's claim for the Charles Wm. Flügge property in Butte and Sutter counties; Appendix, p. 18, T. O. Larkin *et al,* claimants for the Manuel Jimeno Rancho in Colusa and Yuba counties; Appendix, p. 101, T. O. Larkin, claimant for Mission Santa Clara Orchard. See also Bancroft, *op. cit.,* VI, p. 17, note 42, for mention of Larkin children's rancho; and Underhill, *op. cit.,* pp. 73-74.

9. Compare Underhill, *op. cit.,* pp. 167-68, where Larkin is quoted as saying in a letter to Col. R. Mason dated May 25, 1848: "I have seen a statement of one mans washing for 16 days. It came to $24 per day."

Selected Letters of Osgood Church Wheeler

With Introduction and Notes

By SANDFORD FLEMING

(Concluded)

CAMP MEETING

To John W. Douglass, Editor, *The Pacific* (San Francisco), III, Sept. 5, 1851, 2.

San Francisco, Sept. 3, 1851

Messrs. Editors,—In compliance with your request, I herewith transmit a very brief account of a religious interest which now is, and for some weeks has been in progress in the San Jose valley. On the 6th of August, I received information that a Baptist camp meeting[42] was to be held in the vicinity of the recent capitol, and that my presence was requested. I arrived in time to attend the first exercise—a prayer meeting, on the evening of the 8th. I found a goodly number of cloth houses erected in a beautiful grove of oak and laurel on the east bank of the Guadaloupe, about five miles north of San Jose. A rude preaching stand was erected, around three sides of which were arranged rough seats, chairs, &c. sufficient to accommodate a thousand people. This first prayer meeting was marked for the deep earnestness with which every petition ascended. . . . At 11, preaching. . . . The meeting was conducted by Rev. Joseph Morris,[43] recently from Alabama; but he did not preach at all, though he was "abundant in labor." Rev. Mr. Thomas of the Christian Church was elected to preach the opening sermon. After that, Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists, (of whom there were several in attendance) preached as they were invited by the manager. All appeared to work harmoniously and pleasantly, and although the meeting was called Baptist, yet the opening sermon was preached as I have said, and the closing one by Rev. Mr. Brayton of the Presbyterian church, and I doubt if any man could have learned from the meeting itself, that there were any denominational predilections in it.

The great body of the preaching was peculiar for its sober appeal to the Bible as the great repository of truth, and to reason as the channel through which that truth must flow, to effect the salvation of the soul—all dependent upon the independent working of the Divine and Holy Spirit. As a natural consequence, men took hold of the work of investigation and reflection, with an exercise of the judgment which was capable of controlling the strongest emotion, while it impelled to action such as reminded beholders of the resistless current of a deep and mighty river. . . .

The work appeared not to diminish when I left the valley. Numbers will connect themselves with various denominations, and we hope and pray that

the good work may not cease until our whole coast shall be blessed with its happy influence.

A TRIP TO BENICIA

To *The Pacific Banner*,
I (Oct. 23, 1852), 10.

October, 1852

We enjoyed a few days since, one of those delightful oases which occasionally invite the resting of a weary pilgrim in this world. Stepping on board the steamer "Antelope" at 2 P.M., we found a goodly number of passengers, each striving to make the other happy, and all rejoicing to meet the old favorite, Capt. John Van Pelt, sufficiently convalescent to enable him to be at his post. It is really interesting to see how the spirit of kindness in man will reproduce itself. When this goodly city was under water in 1850, this same man retained the "Senator" here, and with his own boat rowed and steered by his own men, sought out scores and hundreds of the suffering and distressed and famishing, who had taken shelter in lofts and garrets, and there supplied their wants from the store-room of his own steamer, until her full larder was entirely exhausted, and then carried hundreds of them to San Francisco.

[Within the past year his wife had died and he himself had been extremely ill.] Now that he is able to again be at his post, it is truly astonishing to see how the way clears around him. So thoroughly are all his officers and men imbued with his spirit of kindness that they appear to anticipate his every want and to obey his orders in advance. A trip on the "Antelope" is like a visit in a family, where nothing is wanting in the absence, and yet much is added by the presence of the head of the house.

At Benicia we were met by a deputation from the Friends of Temperance, (who had invited us thither to address them,) and escorted to most excellent quarters at the Solano House. The appointments of this house, its good order, its well supplied table, its neat and cleanly rooms, and above all its kind, obliging and ever active hostess, Mrs. Vanderbilt, commend it to the lovers of a good home, when from home. If all the public houses in Benicia are equally good, then may this quiet town well be proud of her hotels.

In the evening of the next day the friends of Total Abstinence braved the cold damp winds and fog, and assembled at the Presbyterian Church, for the purpose of hearing an address. The church is a neat little building, in the ancient Gothic style, chastely carpeted and furnished throughout. The whole thing seems to possess the power of speaking to every stranger, in behalf of those who worship there, with an 'our church' form of expression, which evinces a disposition not to be out-done.

With the pastor of the church, Rev. Mr. Woodbridge, we had the pleasure of a traveling acquaintance during the months of December, January and February of 1848 and '49, on our pioneer passage from New York to

San Francisco. He went almost immediately to Benicia, and has there endured all the change and privations incident to the growing up of such a town in a new country. He now enjoys the blessing of a comfortable home and the presence of his wife and children. He last year made the tour to New York to bring out his estimable lady and little ones; a trip which well nigh proved fatal to him. He took Panama fever, and has not, to this day, been able to get rid of it. We were happy, however, to find him much improved, and with good prospects of ultimate recovery.

By the politeness of Mr. W. we were permitted to visit the Young Ladies Seminary. This institution (the first in the State which has been anything more than a name), though under the general direction of a competent corporation, is under the immediate management of Miss Lord, a lady of ability and a teacher of experience. We found here nineteen young ladies, and to all appearance making very commendable progress in their work.

We witnessed the recitations and exercises of several classes, and left (when compelled to for want of time) more than satisfied, highly delighted with the whole appearance of the school. Miss Lord is in every way worthy of her place. She possesses, beyond all question, a knowledge of the real objects, and the true nature of education; with a keen perception of the most efficient means for imparting it to each individual pupil.

. . . So far as this school has been developed, we most heartily commend it to all who would have their daughters educated. For particulars, with reference to the school, we refer our readers to the prospectus, which we gladly spread before them in the present issue.

On the next day, accompanied by some friends, we paid a flying visit to the city of Vallejo, some seven miles distant. It is a delightful ride, over hill and along the winding dale. But the town! where is it? The State House is undergoing repairs, so as to enable the Legislature to meet there, and adjourn to —— [Sacramento temporarily].[44]

Martinez is a capital little pocket, the prettiest grove, the prettiest little valley, and the prettiest cluster of little houses we have seen in California. It will some day be "not unknown to fame." As a place of residence for quiet sweet repose, such as literary men would choose, it probably has no equal within our State.

After having thus spent three days within the precincts of this little place, we were compelled to leave but half satisfied with our stay.

DESTRUCTION OF SACRAMENTO BY FIRE

To Alexander M. Beebee, Editor,
New York *Baptist Register*,
XXIX (Dec. 23, 1852), 190.

Sacramento,[45] November 15, 1852

Br. Beebee—Though in the midst of affliction, I can not refrain from dropping you a line. The papers which leave in the mail to-morrow, will

bear the sad intelligence (and give full description) of the utter destruction of our fair city. On Monday, the 1st inst., the wind blew fresh from the NW (a rare occurrence here), which continued to increase until the evening of the 2nd, when it had reached a *gale*. The balloting was finished, and the canvassers were busy. A few of us spent an hour in our sanctuary. ... We went away, feeling that our place of worship was more than ever dear to us. Little did we think it was our *last* season there. But, at about 11 o'clock P.M., our alarm bell rang and our whole people rushed into the streets to behold the raging element about to consume their substance, and send thousands of them houseless, homeless and pennyless, to the open plains in the midnight darkness.

Four fires were already burning, in different and distant parts of the city. The plans were well matured and the time fitly chosen. The gang of incendiaries[46] could not ask for a more favorable combination of circumstances, and Satan himself could not have desired a better arrangement for the most fiendish design. The energies of multitudes of our citizens were much exhausted by the political excitements of the day, while hundreds of others were stupefied or half demented by alcohol, and all eagerly watching the progress of the count at the polls. The wind blowing a hurricane, the whole city dried and parched to tinder by a seven-months drought—boards and shingles every where warping and scrolling, till seams opened and invited sparks and flames on all sides. The city was fired near its northwest extremity first, and then, in at least three other places, so chosen as to sweep before the wind the whole town. At a little past twelve, Dea. Charles Cooley and I went to our church edifice, and commenced removing the furniture, while yet the nearest fire was near a quarter of a mile distant. But before we had gotten a fourth of it out, a fire was kindled underneath it, and we were forced to leave. In a moment the flames came rushing through the floor and filling the house, and we withdrew a few rods and wept to see our beautiful sanctuary fall, and our fine sweet-toned bell actually melt and decompose amid the ruins. The Methodist Church, North and South, each lost their meeting-house, as also did the Catholic.

Our residence was out of the town so far, and in such direction, as to escape. But all my people were literally burned out. Our little band of brethren and sisters are nearly all obliged to begin the world anew, and many of them having been in business, deeply in debt at that. But they are an energetic band—a devoted band—as lovely a band as ever I expect to meet this side heaven. They are of one heart and soul, and determined, in the strength of God, to arise and build. The brethren in San Francisco have taken hold with a most commendable liberality to aid us, although each of the churches there is much in need of a new house of worship for their own accommodation. Br. Horace Pierce, of Hamilton, N. Y., who was so efficient in raising the endowment of Madison University, has left a good

business situation in San Francisco, and gone into the mining districts to solicit funds for us. Yet it is so entirely impossible for us as a church to raise any considerable amount now, that we very much fear for the future.

Having been nearly four years in California, and being well aware of the notions and views entertained abroad of the abundance of gold here, I had long since abandoned the idea of ever asking for a dollar from the Atlantic States for any purpose of this kind. But under these exceedingly painful and trying circumstances, it has appeared to me that there must be very many brethren and sisters and friends in the older States who would count it a privilege to aid us to build another house for God in this moral desert. I have released the church from the payment of my salary for a time, and we are trying to sustain our family by keeping a few boarders. I do not wish to refer to myself, but perhaps it may be pardoned, as an illustration of the utter destitution of my people. Will you (if you think it will be of any use) be kind enough to say in the Register that a dollar bill, or any other bill, on any good bank in a commercial town, or a draft for any amount on a good house in Atlantic City, directed to Hon. E. J. Willis,[47] or Dr. L. Hermance, or John H. Gass, or to O. C. Wheeler, will most materially aid us in this vast undertaking, and will lay us under the most sincere obligations.

We were enjoying very much of heaven's blessing. Our house full, our Sabbath-school increasing, and our numbers growing larger every month. So much of home had gathered around us, that Mrs. W. and myself had almost ceased to long for a renewal of our former associations and enjoyment. . . . But we are in a single night set back to first principles, with this unfavorable change, that now the channel is regularly opened, and the golden stream passes directly from the ruins to the steamship, and thence to the Atlantic States. In those early days, three dollars could be raised for any necessary object of benevolence, easier than one can now.

But it was not my principal object to write a begging letter. You are, ere this, aware that there is a Baptist paper on the Pacific coast.[48] To see such a paper in successful existence has been an object with me, of more than ordinary desire during the last two years. But the way was continually hedged up until some three months since, when Br. Willis entered heartily into the work, and arrangements were made to commence its publication. The enterprise was at once met by that class of men who, professing godliness, make it their pursuit, only after they fail in worldly or political schemes, and by them most strenuously opposed. It was the design from the start, that at the earliest possible day the services of some man, whose whole time could be devoted to the editorial department, should be secured.

[An account here follows, of the strange misconduct both of the editor and publisher, and the temporal suspension of the paper.][49]

Under these circumstances, my brethren came to me, saying, "You must

resume a connection with the paper, and lead it editorially, or it must die." I again consented, with even more reluctance, than before I had learned by experience anything of the vastness of the undertaking. We had issued two numbers more, and were burned out. But we have now put the enterprise upon a footing which renders it, "humanly speaking," beyond a failure. Br. Wm. Rollinson,[50] the successor of Mr. Capen in the Pine Street church, San Francisco, has consented to become corresponding editor, and is constantly giving the most satisfactory evidence of being "soul and body" in the work. Rev. Stephen Riley, who preaches to three churches,—one at Napa, one at Santa Rosa, and one at Sonoma, and who has recently baptized thirty converts, is also sustaining the enterprise with a commendable zeal.

The Pine Street church, San Francisco, are very fortunate in their present pastor. Br. Rollinson brings with him a cultivation of intellect and a devotion to his work, which win golden opinions at every step. His house is already quite too small for the increasing numbers who flock to hear him; and within a few weeks, some of the strongest men in our commercial emporium have become identified with the interests of his church. The First church, after having issued several calls, and been destitute of a pastor a whole year, is still only *supplied*.[51] At San Jose and Santa Clara, the churches remain without material change. . . .

CHANGES IN SAN FRANCISCO

To *The Pacific Banner*, I (March 31, 1853), 90.

San Francisco, March 28, 1853

Having left home on Friday last at 2 P.M., and taken passage per steamer "New World," we were smoothly, rapidly and pleasantly borne down the Hudson of the west, the placid Sacramento, toward this commercial emporium of the Pacific.

As we have stated in a previous number, the "New World" is equal to the taste of the most fastidious viator, both in her material structure and beauty, and her official management and speed. Captain Hutchins is a very master of his profession, exercising all its functions with an ease and grace which indicate its most difficult departments as the mere operations of a natural instinct. Nor are his officers, in their place, "a whit behind the very chiefest."

The banks of the river are richly clad in verdure and foliage, and the wild-fowl are abundant, both in their numbers and in their cackling. At the whilom capital[52] we saw nothing of special interest, it being already dark and our stop only long enough to make a very brief landing.—Arrived at San Francisco at about 9 P.M. The chill of a San Francisco evening much alleviated by a slack of the usual wind and the mellowing influence of a beautiful moon.

Our traveling companion, who had not been here since '49, declares

positively that "the place has changed so much he could scarcely recognize it." At that we do not much wonder, for a continued absence of some three months presents us with so many improvements of a substantial and interesting character, as to puzzle us to find our whereabouts by moon-light.

On Saturday evening at about 10½ o'clock, the pattering of scattering raindrops awakened emotions of peculiar interest in the mind of those who anticipated a pleasant Sabbath. These emotions were in no way alleviated when in the morning we found the rain still pouring down in torrents. We attended service in the Pine street Baptist church, (Rev. Mr. Rollinson's,) in the morning, with a *rainy-day audience* of most interesting and appreciative worshipers. In the afternoon heard the pioneer missionary on this coast, Rev. T. D. Hunt, at the Howard street Presbyterian church, in one of his clear, terse, forcible discourses. In the evening we wended our way a mile and a half through the mud and a pelting rain to the First Baptist Church, (Rev. Mr. Brierly's,) to attend the anniversary of the Pacific Tract Society.[53] An audience of some seventy-five or eighty strong friends of the cause were present, and after some consultation, it was resolved to adjourn the anniversary exercises, to the call of the secretary, under the direction of the executive committee. It was then resolved to improve a little time in the exercises of a social tract meeting, in which Messrs. Hunt, White, Brierly and Briggs participated to the mutual interest and profit of all present.

Among other improvements of peculiar interest here is "Winn's Branch," on the corner of Washington and Montgomery streets. Mr. [M. L.] Winn (of the "Fountain Head") has here fitted up a saloon for refreshments (free from intoxicating drinks) which would be an honor and a blessing to the finest corner of the richest city on the globe.[54] We wish most sincerely that Mr. Winn would establish another "branch" in Sacramento. We think it would pay. But it is about time for the mail to go, and we are off for Stockton.

FROM SACRAMENTO TO SANTA ROSA

To *The Pacific Banner*,
I (May 26, 1853), 122.

Santa Rosa, May 17, 1853

Our trip from Sacramento to Benicia per steamer "Antelope," during the fine afternoon of the 10th, was most delightful. Such a boat as the "Antelope" now is, managed and served by such officials in all its departments, is good enough for the best. No one is annoyed with gambling, profanity, or those other forms of vice which so often disturb the peace-seeking viator.

The waters of the Sacramento are still very high—running, in rapid streams, over their banks in many places and cutting deep gutters through fields of grain and vegetables, for many miles below the city. The destruc-

tion thus caused within the last three months must have been immense.

At Benicia, the most *capital* place in the State, the city of "magnificent distances," the point where a multitude of foci radiate the elaborations of philanthropy, genius and patriotism; notwithstanding the crowded state of the town we found one comfort, always grateful to the homeless when away from home, a good hotel. The Solano House, under the management of Messrs. Cruthers & Crysup, with their excellent ladies, is every way worthy of that large patronage which it constantly enjoys.

Legislation is now going on at a rapid rate,—at least so it seems to the casual observer or one who does not consider that the great body of all the real work of such a body is done by committees during that large portion of the session, which politicians and fault-finders pretend to consider as "wasted," "squandered," &c. Gov. [S.] Purdy, the president of the senate, is a presiding officer of no mean pretensions. We shall not regret it if his party removes the *lieutenancy* between him and the gubernatorial.

Mr. Speaker [Isaac B.] Wall has exceeded the anticipations of his warmest admirers, and returns to his constituents wreathed with laurels of which they may unitedly be proud.

Our ride from Benicia to Sonoma, a distance of twenty-five miles, was by stage without a cover and beneath a broiling sun. We do not wonder that the children (two to each lady of course) cried. We would have been half disposed to join them if any good could have come of it. But we were safely landed after a ride of some five hours. The far-famed Sonoma valley is about as much entitled to the appellation of "the valley" as her sister at the south end of "the Bay," who delights in arrogating this much to herself. While so many vallies in our State are really so lovely, we suggest a slight sprinkling of modesty in this matter of appropriating.

On Thursday, the 12th, at 3 o'clock P.M., the ecclesiastical was organized and after due examination, agreed to recognize the brethren and sisters applying, as a regular Baptist church. In the evening public services were held in the Methodist Church South.

This is a very neat, chaste building in the pure lancet [English] Gothic style with stained glass, steeple and bell. Decidedly the prettiest thing we have seen in California.

On Friday, Rev. Mr. Riley, pastor of the newly organized church in Sonoma, also of the churches in Napa and Santa Clara,[55] and the preacher for two or three other places, furnished us with one of those fine horses which we find in California, and we, accompanied by him, (our families being in a carriage,) galloped off for this place. About three hours of crossing mead-lands, hills and running brooks, brought us to the meeting ground. The branches of a large oak were our shelter, while our pulpit was made of redwood logs, split, hewed and piled up. The seats for the ladies and gentlemen were of the same material. On Friday, Saturday and

Sabbath, preaching was had and listened to with much interest. On Sabbath we welcomed eight members by letter and two by baptism, into the church . . . and then came around the Lord's table. It was a precious season.

Nature has dealt her favors upon these vallies with a most bountiful hand. Plantations of superior richness we have no where seen. Our prayer is that showers of Divine grace may equally fertilize the spiritual soil.

NOTES

42. Camp meetings arose in the South in the beginning of the century as an evangelistic method. The first "planned camp meeting" was under the direction of Rev. James McGready, and was held at the Gasper River Church, Logan County, Ky., in July 1800. They spread widely throughout the South.

43. Rev. Joseph Morris had been a Baptist minister in Alabama for twenty years. He settled in San Jose but there "engaged at his trade," preaching only in a voluntary capacity without pastoral charge.

44. For locations of the legislature, 1849-54, see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 458, 473, 474.

45. Wheeler became pastor at Sacramento in January 1852.

46. Fires were set, apparently, to enable the incendiaries to loot the city.

47. Edward J. Willis was an attorney in Virginia before coming to California in 1849. He settled in Sacramento and in 1850 was elected judge. The First Baptist Church of Sacramento was organized in his home. In 1854 he was ordained and became the first pastor of the First Baptist Church of Oakland.

48. This was *The Pacific Banner*, a weekly, edited by Wheeler and E. J. Willis. It was the first Baptist paper published west of the Rockies. Wheeler's file for the year of its existence is in the library of the Berkeley Baptist Divinity School.

49. The first issue of *The Pacific Banner* appeared on Aug. 19, 1852, and the second on Oct. 14. The reason was a scarcity of paper. In the interim, Rev. J. W. Capen, who had been engaged as one of the editors, became an Episcopalian; while the publisher, Henri St. Claire, defaulted. Samuel Alter then became publisher.

50. Rev. William Rollinson was appointed to California on March 11, 1852, and on arrival in San Francisco was called to the pastorate of the Pine Street Baptist Church.

51. Wheeler resigned the pastorate of the First Baptist Church of San Francisco on Nov. 2, 1851. On Sept. 25, 1852, Rev. Benjamin Brierly became pastor. Brierly had supplied previously, and apparently the news of the call to the pastorate had not reached Wheeler when he wrote in November.

52. The legislature opened on Jan. 3, 1853, at Vallejo but in March "flitted" to Benicia. See note 44, above.

53. Wheeler was president of the Pacific Tract Society.

54. See the entertaining account of Winn's establishments in Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, pp. 642-45.

55. This should read Santa Rosa.

Documentary

Most of the documents, transcribed now and then on single left-hand pages in the QUARTERLY, are concerned with deeds, conveying town or ranch properties to new owners. As will be seen, the document below is a deed on a grand scale, namely, the transference of the kingdom of the California "islands" (Kino's anti-insular theory with respect to Lower California not having yet been demonstrated) from a state of nature to the estate of Carlos II of Spain. It is supplementary to a paper in the QUARTERLY of just a year ago (pp. 309-19), "The Descent on California in 1683," in which Henry R. Wagner translated and edited Father Kino's and Admiral Atondo's account of the expedition these explorers made inland from La Paz, starting on April first of that year. They ended their recital with the fervent hope that God would grant to their king "the spiritual and temporal felicity which his Catholic soul merits," in the soul-and-pearl-rich land that lay before them. The ceremony recorded in the present document, which followed by three days the unfurling of the standard on April second (*ibid.*, pp. 313-14), is commented upon by Herbert E. Bolton in his *Rim of Christendom* (New York, 1936), p. 104. Cf. H. H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States* (San Francisco, 1884), I, 187-88; and for de la Naua (Nava), attached to F. de Ortega's expedition to Lower California in 1632, see *ibid.*, p. 171.

In the Port of Nuestra Senora de la Paz, on the fifth day of the month of April, 1683, I, eusebio Francisco quino, and Pedro Mathias Goñe, religious of the Company of Jesus, by virtue of the licenses and faculties remitted to us, as indicated in the instrument we have received at the Port of Chacala from the Most Illustrious Senor Don Juan Santiago de Leon Garauitto, bishop of the City of Guadalaxara, the New Kingdom of New Galiscia, Leon, Provinces of Nayarid, California and Coaguila of the Council of His Majesty Don Carlos the Second, our king, whom God preserve, I take possession of this Kingdom of the Californias; together with Admiral Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillon, Commander Superior of the loyal Fleet, I take possession of this same kingdom in this Port of Nuestra Senora de la Paz, administering the Holy Sacraments with the license we have from the said Most Illustrious Senor, whom all recognize as their Legitimate Pastor, and us, the said religious, as his Lieutenants Vicar and Judges Ecclesiastic, attending to the right which the Most Illustrious Senor has to these Islands, there having come in times past, and taken possession Ldo. Diego de la Naua, clergyman presbyter, who was from the same bishopric and the same city of Guadalaxara, and which shows for all time, and without fraud, the right which the said bishopric has to these Islands; we give this testimony of possession taken by father eusebio francisco quino and Father Mathias Goñe, religious, of said Company and we sign, witnessed by Captain of the Marine and war Don Francisco de pereda, y Arce, and captain Mattheo Andres, and ensign Martin de Verastegui

Eusebio Francisco Kino of the Company of Jesus

Francisco de Pereda y Arze [rubric]

Pedro Mathias de Gone [rubric]
of the Company of Jesus
Matheo andres [rubric]
Marttin de Verastegui [rubric]
On verso: Possession taken of the Californias year 1683.

Translated by Edna Martin Parratt from the original in the collection of Mr. K. K. Bechtel of San Francisco.

Thomas Vincent Cator

Populist Leader of California

By Harold F. Taggart

AN INDEPENDENT IN NEW JERSEY POLITICS

THOMAS VINCENT CATOR was born in Roxbury, New York, July 18, 1851. Up to the age of sixteen he lived on a farm, attending the local academy when possible. At seventeen he taught school for a short time in Ulster County, then entered Cornell University. After graduation he studied law in the offices of Schoonmaker and Hardenburgh in Kingston, after which he practiced law in New York City. Many important cases followed, which took Cator before the higher courts in the state of New York.[1]

When, in 1880, he established residence in Jersey City, Cator is described as a "handsome, black-eyed and fresh young lawyer, with a profusion of black hair and a sweeping moustache." He immediately entered upon a political career that attracted the attention of the people of New Jersey and New York, because of its exceptional independence in a period when party faith was a religion and certainly when political advancement depended upon party loyalty. But his interest in new social ideas and his sincerity led him first to espouse the cause and seek the party afterward. Few men have run for office under a greater variety of party emblems. He was at one time or another an Anti-Monopolist, a Republican, a Democrat, a Prohibitionist, a Nationalist, an American, a Populist, and finally in the mellow years of life he returned to the political faith of his youth.

Cator was one of the original members of the National Anti-Monopoly League, formed at Cooper's Union in 1881, and for several years he was a member of its committee to secure an interstate commerce act. In 1883 he was elected a vice-president to serve with Peter Cooper. Two years before, as candidate of the Anti-Monopolists, he had been elected to the New Jersey assembly, and, with the endorsement of the Republicans, had been re-elected in 1882. While in the legislature he was responsible for the bill that compelled the public utilities to bear their share of public taxation. In 1883, endorsed by the Republicans for state senator, Cator was defeated by a small majority. By this time he had been divorced by the first Mrs. Cator, the former Miss Anna Adams.[2]

In 1884 Cator joined the Prohibitionist party, and was a delegate to the national convention of that party in Pittsburgh. He became the chairman of the state central committee for New Jersey, served two terms as an Independent on the city council of Jersey City, and in 1887 received the

endorsements of four parties—Republican, Democrat, Anti-Monopoly, and Prohibitionist—for re-election and seemed assured of a walk-over, but when a small labor party proffered its nomination, he accepted it and met defeat.

MIGRATES TO CALIFORNIA

Soon after he moved to New Jersey Cator had contracted malarial fever. He made a trip to California, and, following a second serious illness in 1887, came to San Francisco to live, where he took up the practice of law. In 1889 he was married to Miss Ethel Chapman, who participated as a delegate in several conventions of the People's party.

Cator now joined the Nationalist movement and became one of the promoters of Edward Bellamy's philosophy of semi-socialism, as expounded by the novelist-politician. At the Fourth of July celebration in 1890 Cator made an oration which according to Ambrose Bierce "was received with a warmth and heartiness of approval not often accorded to the glowing and exalted nonsense of 'orators of the day'."[3] It was an indictment of American liberty and American character, and was reprinted and broadcast in later years under the title, "Millionaires or Morals." The newspapers, editorially, spoke in high praise of Cator's speech, although some thought it pessimistic. The same summer (1890) he was nominated for congress by the American party, an anti-foreign, anti-Catholic party organized in 1886. He was also endorsed by some ardent Nationalists. If this candidacy had any effect, it probably helped elect the Republican candidate. James H. Barry, in his *The Weekly Star,* vigorously supported Cator in the campaign.[4]

Barry had been sentenced by Judge F. W. Lawler in 1889 to pay a fine and serve five days in jail on a charge of contempt of court. This grew out of a charge against Lawler by Barry in an editorial in the *Star*, August 3, 1889. The Supreme Court had upheld the decision of Lawler, and Barry was compelled to serve the five days. Following his release from jail, a huge mass meeting was held at Metropolitan Hall on September 19, 1890. Cator was the main speaker. He made a vigorous defense of personal liberty and denounced the "despotism of the courts." In fact, he seized every opportunity to make public appearances as a speaker. He made Labor Day speeches, Chautauqua speeches, and speeches for woman suffrage; and as he had a fluent delivery, stood six feet tall and weighed slightly over two hundred pounds, he made a fine impression. The New York *Herald* ran two columns on Cator at the time of the senatorial contest. Though the following excerpt is a bit grandiloquent, it does give a contemporary estimate:

> He combines the erudition of the college professor, with the tongue of a Cicero and the dash of a cavalryman with the polish of a courtier. Eloquent, informed, aggressive, energetic, ambitious and rich now his place will be above the Peffers and "Sockless Jerrys" and Mrs. Leases in the land and he is bound to forge forward to a foremost place in the party to which he is devoting himself.[5]

FARMERS IN REVOLT

The many reforms advocated in the platforms of the Farmers' Alliance and People's party naturally appealed to such an ardent reformer. Before the farmers sought satisfaction through a political party, Cator had cast his lot with the movement, making speeches at many Alliance meetings.[6] He published several pamphlets, which were distributed by the hundreds of thousands at farmer and labor meetings, not only in California, but throughout the Midwest.[7]

Cator's career between 1892 and 1898 is woven into the history of the Populist revolt; in fact, his energy, his astuteness and legal guidance made the party in California. Political leaders of the major parties, fearful in 1894-1896 of the threat of this third party, came to Cator with their suggestions for trades and bargains; they grudgingly looked upon him as the "boss" of the party. Until the People's party fell apart in 1898 and principles gave place to a grasping for personal advantage, the Populist party accepted Cator as its leader and looked upon him with respect and admiration, some of the Populists even with a kind of awe. It was to him that the Populists wrote long letters of hopeful idealism, sometimes of their personal feuds, often in search of political and legal advice, and altogether too often in search of financial assistance for the promotion or the rescue of reform newspapers.

In the early nineties the farmers of California, as elsewhere in the nation, had many grievances. Prices of farm products had dropped steadily since 1886. A large proportion of the farms was heavily mortgaged at high interest rates. This was especially true in the southern counties of California where a speculative boom had stimulated visions of cities that were never built. Orange groves, that had been marked off in 25-foot lots with white stakes, were after 1891 mortgaged for more than the land would bring. Attacks were levied against monopoly in transportation and its influence on the free play of politics. Finally, the farmers, together with a small number of labor leaders, lost faith in the parties and the party leaders. The rise and fall of the People's party is a story of social unrest, of bitterness against economic depression, of enthusiastic hope and naïve confidence, followed by dissension and disillusionment.

After several months of promotional work, farmers from thirteen counties met in San Jose, November 1890, to organize a state Farmers' Alliance. Marion Cannon, Ventura, was elected president. Other leaders were John S. Dore, Fresno; E. C. Tulley, San Benito; E. M. Wardall, Monrovia; and Col. J. S. Barbee, Santa Barbara. A platform was adopted demanding the abolition of national banks, and advocating government ownership of transportation and communication, restoration of public lands to the government, Australian ballot, direct election of the president and of U. S. senators, state issue of text books, and parity in the use of gold and silver.[8]

Eleven months later, on October 21, 1891, three organizations—the Alliance, the Citizens' Alliance and the Industrial Union—met in separate conventions at Los Angeles. That evening the 600 delegates united to hear Leonidas L. Polk, national president of the Farmers' Alliance, advance the cause of a third party. The next day the three groups merged under the leadership of Polk and Cannon to form a People's party convention. An elaborate platform was adopted and a state committee selected. E. M. Wardall was made chairman of this committee, a position he held until the crack-up of 1898. The state committee met in San Francisco on December 8 and 9, and made plans for the campaign.

Organization of the party was continued through the spring of 1892, chiefly through the machinery of the Alliance. A county Alliance would meet, hurriedly transact business, then form as a county convention for the party. State leaders would call a meeting of Alliance members and sympathetic labor men for the purpose of organizing a convention. By the time the state convention met, practically every county in California had been well organized. Farmers from all sections, together with a few independent labor men, converged on Stockton, May 31, 1892. That evening the delegates from the sixth congressional district caucused and nominated Marion Cannon for congress. This was a section of the state which had already reflected in terms of Republican majorities the recent migration from the Midwest during the land boom. The convention was unique; in contrast with the traditional bibulous affairs, this convention had the atmosphere of a revival meeting. Saloonkeepers mournfully complained of the lack of business. Farmers and union men clashed on almost every issue. Cator took no part in the organization work, nor did he participate in the convention. However, he was named a candidate for presidential elector (for the fifth district), and rejected through friends the nomination for congressman.

In the California delegation to the first national convention of the People's party at Omaha were Cannon, president of the state Alliance; E. M. Wardall; John S. Dore, chairman of the executive committee of the Alliance; Mrs. T. V. Cator, delegate at large; and Cator, delegate from the fifth district. Dore, who was one of the most sincere and most aggressive leaders in the movement, was made chairman of the credentials committee; Cator was placed on the platform committee. Later, a resolution, submitted by Cator, that no office-holder should sit in any convention of the party, was adopted with a "whoop." The report of the resolutions committee (starting with what was perhaps the most famous of all preambles to party platforms and written by Ignatius Donnelley), was read by Cator. When he reached the free-silver plank it was "... enthusiastically greeted with cheers and the waving of hats," and "pandemonium broke loose at the con-

clusion of the reading."[9] Populist papers in California immediately gloried in the dramatic role that Cator played in the convention.

1892: POPULISM CAUSES DEFEAT OF REPUBLICAN PARTY

The Populist campaign in California was made primarily on the money question. Cator opened the campaign on the night of July 16 at the Bijou Theatre in San Francisco, where for two hours he denounced monopoly and dwelt upon the public clamor for the free coinage of silver. He had become the spokesman for the party. It was to him now rather than to Cannon that Colonel Barbee, Dore, John L. Gilbert and many others wrote.[10] Cator maintained his dominance, practically that of a boss, by virtue of his oratory, his legal talent, which was needed to meet the technicalities thrown in the way of the new party, by his generous support of struggling reform papers, and finally by his own stubborn will.

Women were given important parts in the Populist campaign, in marked contrast to the old parties, partly because of the active participation in the affairs of the Alliance by women, and partly because of the party's espousal of women suffrage. Mrs. Mary Lease, Kansas, who had attracted some attention with her cry to farmers to raise less corn and more hell, campaigned the state with the presidential nominee, James B. Weaver, in August; and Mrs. Annie Diggs, Kansas, a fiery little woman of less than a hundred pounds, toured California in the closing days of the campaign.

As a reform party, antagonistic to all vested interests, the party experienced financial difficulty. There were no big donations by corporations or individuals. Every possible device was used to collect funds. The hat was passed at meetings; members of county committees were assessed for the honor of serving; in some counties delegates were expected to contribute a dollar each; candidates were asked to donate, and at all Populist meetings tracts were sold. In view of the make-up of the party, namely, debt-ridden farmers, all efforts at a campaign meant a real sacrifice.

Late in September the attorney-general stated that the People's party would not have a heading (for straight party vote) on the ballot and that a petition of five per cent of the voters must be filed before the candidates could be listed with the party designation after their names. The petition was filed on October 5 by Cator, Dr. George Gillespie, and J. J. Morrison. On October 7 Cator argued before the Supreme Court that all parties must receive equal consideration on the ballot, that the party heading was unconstitutional. Over the protest of the attorney-general, Secretary of State E. G. Waite decided on October 21 to place the Populist names on the ballot, an action supported three days later by the opinion of the Supreme Court that the sections of the code which provided for party headings were unconstitutional, that each candidate must be voted upon separately. The Populists were jubilant, some even hoping for 60,000 votes. But an

astute Democrat, William English, prophesied that Weaver would receive not over 30,000 votes.[11]

Cannon was endorsed by the Democrats of the sixth district, after strenuous efforts on the part of Stephen M. White, Los Angeles attorney and a candidate for the U. S. senate.[12] Cator would not permit fusion in the fourth district. Many Populists wanted to endorse James G. Maguire, staunch advocate of free silver, loud critic of trusts and a most persistent booster for the single tax. The vindictiveness with which Barry now attacked Cator had its repercussions in 1898.[13] Some fusion was arranged, however, chiefly between Democrats and Populists on candidates for the legislature and county offices.

In this election the Populist party claimed former Republicans in greater proportion than Democrats. Eight Democrat electors and one Republican were chosen.[14] Weaver polled slightly over 25,000 votes. Four Democrats, two Republicans and one Populist (Cannon) were elected to congress. The Populists did not win a senatorial seat in the legislature, but did elect eight assemblymen: Thomas J. Kerns (Los Angeles County), C. F. Bennett (Orange County), P. R. Adams (Santa Cruz County), Aaron Bretz (Alameda County), and Thomas Massey (Santa Clara County), all endorsed by Democrats in the districts, and W. A. Vann (Colusa County), and H. J. T. Jacobsen (Fresno County), endorsed by Republicans, and C. A. Barlow (San Luis Obispo County), who as a Populist won over both Republican and Democrat candidates.

CATOR ENTERS FIGHT FOR U. S. SENATE

The legislature, elected in November 1892, was to meet in early January to select a U. S. senator.[15] Prior to the election, Stephen M. White had secured the support of practically all the Democrats of southern California; and through the cooperation of Gavin McNab gained, after the election, the pledges of most of the large San Francisco delegation. The Republicans held a majority of two in the senate, the Democrats a majority of one in the assembly. There were 41 Democrats, 29 Republicans, eight Populists and two Independents in the assembly. In a joint session the Democrats could muster 59 votes, two less than the majority needed. At first Democrats considered the choice of White in the bag, counting as they believed they could, on sufficient Populist votes.[16] Then the story began to make the rounds that Cator was organizing the Populists to take full advantage of their position. White and his friends put great pressure upon the Populists—Kerns, Adams, Thomas, Bennett and Bretz. The vote of one Independent, T. W. Burke, was assured, wrote Robert Troy from San Francisco,[17] leaving the Democratic nominees short by one vote.

Cator had been busy, also. With the aggressive help of John Dore and Colonel Barbee, the Populist assemblymen were bombarded with letters from Populists of California and from national leaders and with resolutions

from county Alliances. Kerns was the target of much of this pressure because of the uncertainty of his position and his known friendship for White. Cator received assurance from Republicans of San Francisco of the support of several Republican members of the legislature if the contest became an open one;[18] also he received the veiled promise of help from southern California. While the religious question did not come out in the open at Sacramento, it is evident that if party lines broke down Cator would gain the votes of several assemblymen from the south, who, whether A. P. A. men or not, were anti-Catholic.[19] There were several men in the legislature from country areas, who had been elected as Republicans or Democrats, but who were also good Alliance men. Here was another source of possible votes. A well-known Populist had written to Cator on the first of December, that he favored the election of a Populist senator, but "... how? Eight men cant win the election."[20] But by the time the legislature met, the papers were full of stories concerning the "solid eight," the "immovable phalanx," etc., so much so that a stalwart Democratic editor (and White advocate) said: "It need not surprise anyone that the successor to Senator Felton is to be Thomas V. Cator, Populist lawyer and capable man."[21]

The legislature met at noon, January 2. The next day the eight Populists cast eight votes for each of the Populist names on the party slate for offices in the assembly.[22] The Democrats caucused on the night of January 5. On the first ballot White received 46 votes, H. C. Wilson 7, and Jerry Lynch 6. Immediately the vote was made unanimous.[23] The eight Populists stood together January 13 on the vote for members of the board of trustees for the state library. Finally the day for the choice of senator, January 17, arrived. The vote in the assembly was taken; the 41 Democrats and Burke voted for White, the eight Populists for Cator, while the Republicans divided their vote. In the senate, White received the votes of 18 Democrats, the Republicans scattering their votes. Every member was present in each house and voted. On a joint ballot White was short by one vote.

(To be concluded)

NOTES

1. References for the period prior to 1890: New York *Pioneer,* Oct. 24, 1887; *New Commonwealth,* Feb. 1894; New York *Herald,* Jan. 15, 1894; and conferences with Mrs. T. V. Cator (of San Francisco). For the period after 1890 there is an extensive collection of miscellaneous papers, including letters to Cator from Populist leaders, numbers of Populist newspapers and journals (hereinafter called "Cator Letters"), in the possession of the Stanford University Library and the present writer. Cator unfortunately kept no file of his own letters.

2. For the names of Cator's children by his first wife, see San Francisco *Chronicle,* Sept. 21, 1920—a special news item, accompanied by portrait, at the time of Cator's death.

3. *Examiner,* July 6, 1890. Bierce gave a column and a half to the speech, concluding:

"... of all that was said and done that day Mr. Cator's speech alone was worth a moment's attention."

4. *The Weekly Star*, Sept. 20, 1890. Many weeklies were founded in San Francisco between 1895 and 1905. One of the few to survive any length of time was the *Star*, edited and published by James H. Barry, energetic and unpredictable. He ran a profitable printing shop that maintained the *Star* as an outlet for his personal feuds and crusades.

5. New York *Herald*, Jan. 15, 1893.

6. *Garden City Alliance* (San Jose), July 9, 1891. Meeting of the Santa Clara County Alliance. Cator's speech is printed on the first page; his argument, the people must own the railroads and issue their own money. Many such meetings are indicated in the Cator papers.

7. *Pacific Union Alliance* (San Francisco), Feb. 27, 1892.

8. An interesting but elusive aspect of the meeting (and later Populist meetings) is the amount of space devoted in newspapers to the "boom" for Senator Stanford, as potential candidate for the presidency on a third party ticket. California farmers made it clear from the start that they did not want any millionaire, certainly not Stanford. The New York *Times* said, Dec. 10, 1891: "On the whole Mr. Stanford's Presidential boom is simply one of the luxuries that an active mind invents and a long purse can afford."

9. *Weekly People's Press* (San Francisco), July 9, 1892. This was the first of many such newspapers. About thirty Populist papers were started in 1892 but none survived for more than two or three years. The most substantial support came from old-established papers, such as the *Western Watchman* (Eureka) and the *Tulare Valley Citizen* (Tulare). Both editors, William Ayres and W. H. Gilstrap, had published Democratic papers for many years prior to 1892.

10. Cator Letters, covering the years Aug. 1892 to Nov. 1898.

11. Letters to White, XXIX, Sept. 7, 1892 (in Stanford University Library).

12. White Letters, XIX, 605, Sept. 3, 1892, to J. Gaffey. He said in part: "... It might be of considerable assistance to me if this endorsement is carried out because Cannon will use his efforts to get such People's Party nominees as may be elected to the legislature to support me." Many Democrats opposed the fusion.

13. See almost any issue of the *Star* for the later months of 1892, for a bitter tirade against Cator. Cator kept his file of the *Star* with comments scribbled on the margins.

14. Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California* (Sacramento, 1893), p. 354.

15. Harold F. Taggart, "The Senatorial Election in California in 1893," this QUARTERLY, XIX (Mar. 1940), pp. 59-73, for detailed story.

16. Letters to White, XXX. Many such letters, including one from Dr. S. Bowers, Populist editor of Ventura and Cannon's manager.

17. *Ibid.*, XXX, Nov. 14, 1892; also *ibid.*, from C. B. Younger, Dec. 13, 1892.

18. Cator Letters, from James Waymire (San Francisco), Dec. 30, 1892.

19. *Ibid.*, from R. M. Widney (Republican banker of Los Angeles), Dec. 23, 1892. He wrote: "... While elected as Republicans they are Americans of the right type and will be valuable in any good work for the common good." In an introductory letter from Widney presented to Cator by C. M. Simpson, Widney wrote: "... You will find him an *American* broader than party."

20. *Ibid.*, from Jesse Poundstone (Grimes), Dec. 1, 1892.

21. Sacramento *Evening News*, Dec. 30, 1892.

22. *California Assembly Journal*, 30th sess., pp. 4-8.

23. H. C. Wilson was an Alliance leader in Corning. He had been urged by Populist friends to remain away from the Democratic caucus.

WILLIAM DAVIS MERRY HOWARD

(b. May 2, 1819, Boston; d. Jan. 20, 1856, San Francisco)

Reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. John Kenneth Howard of Boston,
from the original painting by Charles Nahl

William Davis Merry Howard

By His Granddaughter

Gertrude Howard Whitwell

(Concluded)

I remember my grandmother, Agnes Poett Howard, well.[13] She had been born in Fayal, the Azores, on March 11, 1833, and was a handsome woman, with a beautiful figure and lovely feet and hands. While in Massachusetts in October 1854, W. D. M. Howard ordered "the very best grand pianoforte" to be sent west from Chickering's in Boston as a present for his wife, whom he considered a fine musician, as his letters show. I was the only "musician" in the family and she left it to me when she died in 1893, but, as it was too old and large for me to use, I gave it to the Chickering museum in Boston where it is still, with a label giving its history. In her more youthful days my grandmother was fond of horseback riding. An undated (but presumably 1849) letter to her from Howard before their marriage says: "Send me word how many yards you will require for a riding habit. You ought to have it made before going to Sta. Clara." And shortly before his death he warned her in a letter dated October 31, 1855: "... if you ride the Dr.'s Rhuben be very careful as he is spirited." As I remember her she was usually dressed in white.

As to my grandfather's appearance, W. H. Davis, whom I mentioned before, wrote of him (see his page 228): "... he can be described as an ideal nobleman, six feet in height, erect, of commanding figure, with sandy beard (generally clean shaven), full ruddy cheeks, laughing eyes, soft and musical voice." In an issue of this Quarterly of some dozen years ago, I saw where John H. Kemble mentions him in connection with the first steam vessel's trip around the bay—that Howard, because of his *aldermanic proportions* "was required to occupy the 'post of honor immediately over the boiler' in order to keep the steamer in trim."[14]

My father's place, The Uplands, was sold to Frederick Crocker in 1894. The house was afterwards moved, altered and partly burned. The old Cerrito house was torn down. Also moved, altered or torn down are the Edward Beylard and Duncan Hayne houses. Mrs. Hayne was Agnes Howard, the second daughter of George H. and Agnes Poett Howard. Joseph Henry Poett Howard's house is the only one that remains, where his son, J. H. P. Howard, Jr. (whose mother was Marion Poett, daughter of Alfred Poett, Mrs. W. D. M. Howard's brother) lives. William Henry Howard (my brother Edward W. Howard's son), who lives in San Mateo, is the only male descendant of W. D. M. Howard, in his generation; and John Kenneth Howard, my brother, is the only one in mine.

I know that W. D. M. Howard would be pleased if he could see the development of his former property. San Mateo and Burlingame are both large towns with small pretty houses and gardens, some of them standing where his carefully planted bay trees grew; while our old waterfront is now a park and golf links for the benefit of the town with its over 35,000 people.

NOTES

13. The dates of Agnes Poett's marriages are:

to William D. M. Howard	July 9, 1849
George Henry Howard	October 18, 1857
Henry P. Bowie	June 23, 1879

She died on February 3, 1893, at San Mateo, California.

14. John Haskell Kemble, "The First Steam Vessel to Navigate San Francisco Bay," this QUARTERLY, XIV (June 1935), 143. W. D. M. Howard had a rival in the business of "trimming ship"; Kemble adds that when the steamer went up the Sacramento, "Mrs. Gregson's baby is said to have been handed about the cabin as ballast."

Correction: Mrs. Whitwell's grandmother, before her marriage to Mr. Bowie, became a Roman Catholic and was not buried in St. Matthew's, as given on page 254 of the preceding QUARTERLY, but in St. John's Cemetery, San Mateo. [Ed.]

Selected letters, now in the collection of my nephew, Mr. William Henry Howard of San Mateo, follow.

The letters are unchanged as to spelling, punctuation, etc. Occasional brackets introduce explanatory material.

Miss Agnes Poett (no date; no place)
Present
My dear Agnes

I send you some music from which I want you to select such as you like best please keep it seperate from that which I sent you yesterday if you are not too much ocupied I would like you to make your choice today. I think you will like Strauss Waltzes how do you do today? I hope better than you were last night. . . . think of me once in a while during your ocupations of the day—excuse this paper. My note paper is at the house. . . .

Your true and dearest
William

Send me word how many yards you will require for a riding habit. You ought to have it made before going to Sta. Clara.

Miss Agnes Poett (no date; no place)
Present
My own dearest.

The narrow lace has been sold which I regret very much. Mrs. Brannan

bought all the edging. I have obtained one piece from her which she says is all she has left, if this will answer keep it if not I will return it to her. I wish you had hinted to me before that you wanted it why did you allow me to forget it. . . . Practice some of your new music dearest. . . .

Yours forever
William

Saturday

(no place; no date)

My own dearest Agnes.

. . . Will not your Papa's illness prevent your playing the Piano this evening, if so perhaps Mr. Robinson had better defer his visit, at any rate I would like to bring George [his younger brother] down this afternoon for a little while to see my Angel about 5 or ½ past. I am very busy so excuse haste

Your dearest
William

(no date; no place)

"Miss Agnes Poett
Present"

My dear Agnes

After I saw you this morning I learnt that Mr. Smith had leased the land in front of his house to build upon immediately, thus leaving only an alley to enter the house and obstructing the view as well as annoying those who might occupy the house, so I went immediately and bought the "Cream Col[d] house" so that we shall be in our own house and nobody to build in front or anoy us in any way. I hope you will like the place. I am going to make some few alterations and plaster & paper it at once. I think it can be all finished in two weeks—send me word if you intend to make the contemplated visit this evening.

Your affectionate
William

(no date; no place)

My Dearest Agnes

I send you by Joe the dress patterns I told you of. I hope you will be pleased with them. I have selected the paper for *our* house: it is a very pretty pattern light colored. I would write more Dear Agnes but am very busy.

Yr faithful
William

Monday P.M.

My Dear Agnes

I have just read your dear note, and am very glad you have found such a good friend in Mrs. [C. V.] Gillespie as she is a Lady I much esteem. I have been longing to see you all day—so much that I went down to your house after dinner. Mr. G. invited me to his house to Tea this evening of

course as my Dear Love is there I must go, but let us go home early as we can not be alone unless we do. . . .

Your affectionate
William

(no date; no place)

My dearest Agnes

I send the muslin for you and sisters Please write me a few lines how you are this morning. . . .

Miss Agnes Poett (no date)
Present
My Dear Agnes

I send you four prs of "Como se llamas" which I hope will suit. . . .

There are some very pretty white bonnets in town. Do you want one?

Your dearest
William

Mrs. W. D. M. Howard Tuesday
San Francisco

I do not send the box of shawls as I have found one like your Mamas, or nearly like it I believe. The Gimp I will try and get for you this afternoon. I have not had time to cut the boquet but will after dinner. I will endeavor to go to your house at 5 o'clk. . . . I have secured a piano for you dont know how good it is but perhaps it will answer for a little while.

Your affectionate
William

Excuse haste. . . .

Tell Alfred [her brother] to come this afternoon for his box of Paints. . . .

No. 1 Weston [Mass.]
August 24th 1854

My dear Agnes

I left New York the same afternoon that you left [for Europe]. We came on as far as Springfield . . . took the accommodation train . . . and landed at West Newton about ½ past 11. took a caryall and arrived home at 12 o'clk. I felt quite well after the journey—a little tired the day was quite pleasant. . . . I miss you Dear Agnes very much and poor little Willie too dear little fellow what would I not give to see you all do pray be very carefull of yourself and don't get sick I hope you have not been very sea sick George [his brother, whose wife had died the year before] told me the steamer went off beautifully. I have had to get a man the girl we had did not want to stay she does not know much and she and the cook dont get along well. George went in yesterday and brought out a man he appears to be first rate; very clean, waits upon table well better than any one we have had, and comes well recommended. Caroline will do the cham-

ber work. there were so many things I wanted a man for, having been acustomed to one so long. . . . The new cook is a first rate one she cooks meat better than the other—roasts beautifully, and is very anxious to please. This morning I cooked some frijoles for breakfast. They were very fine, and I must say that I have not eaten better cooked beans since I have been at home they were exactly like yours—you may judge when all had two large plates full. . . .

George has moved into the girls room and likes it much better, he has taken up his abode here, and I am very glad. he is so much company for me. . . . We have no fruit here except apples berries all gone and mellons and peaches not come yet. So we have dispenced with desert at dinner. To day we have your favorite dinner—boiled tongue. . . . I eat a small peice of gingerbread at tea and it played the deuce with me—you cant form any idea how I do miss you Agnes. I look in vain every morning for little Willie to come to my bed. give him a hundred kisses for me. I wish I could give them to you for him. You will see I have numbered my letter No. 1. You had best do the same then we can tell if any are missing.

. . . you must write me exactly how everything goes on and particularly how your health and Willies is. what he says, if he often speaks of me. . . .

. . . all the girls I beleive are writing you and now my dearest good bye. be a good girl and write to me often. . . . Love to your Father and Mother and beleive me your aff husband

W. D. M. Howard

No. 2 Weston September 4th 1854

My dear Agnes

Since my last nothing has happened worthy of note. I have been pretty well but troubled with stones, and rhumatism. I have had the largest stone come from me of any time yet, and there are more plagueing me. . . . Every thing goes on very quietly here Mary and the girls come up every evening as usual. Sister Mary [Mrs. Abraham Howard] dined with us yesterday. George is with us . . . he is very contented here. . . . The new Theartre opens a week from tonight I shall go in and take the girls. . . . Mary H is perfectly crazy to go so I think I shall take all the young fry. . . . I suppose by this time you must be in Paris. You undoubtedly found our letters on yr arrival. I hope you and Dear little Willie have been well and are enjoying yourselves. do pray write me all about him how he gets along what he says, etc etc how I do miss him. as well as yourself Dr Agnes. You can form no idea, now you have many things to divert you. with me its different. the same things every day. sick. no new sights sometimes Minnie plays on the Piano when she is up here, it reminds me of your playing very much. Now —— might drum away all day without having the least effect upon me, although she tries hard to imitate your style.

Tuesday 5th George brought out Mr. Wilde last night with him. he

is to stay 'till Thursday—he leaves the last of this month or next month (he is uncertain yet) for Paris, where of course you will see him. I hope Dr Agnes you are well today.... I do not sleep well. I am going for a drive this morning over to Waltham Mr W. is going with me. I wish we were back again in San Franc° the fact is I ought to be there. and Dr Ware says the same as your father No! unless I can get out in a Steamer bound from here out there. Dr Ware says all I want is to keep perfectly still and quiet. advises me not to travel but but [*sic;* keep?] quiet and remain here, he says the climate cant hurt me. he is satisfied there is no consumpsion I think I shall take rooms at the Tremont [Boston] I can have them on the first floor I am to see the plans of the new part on Tremont place the suites of rooms are to be very fine, but how gloomy to ocupy them alone. one good thing Miss Smith will look out for me—I shall keep Tim. We have an excellent waiter... you would like him he is so perfectly neat... you have no need to speak to him from morning till night at dinner all your wants are anticipated by him. I wish he had been with us when you were here. the Cook is as good as gold. understands her business. and is very pleasant always with a smile on her face. so we get along admirably with house hold affairs.

I had some water mellons and cantilopes sent out yesterday the first we have indulged in.... We had some delishous sweet corn and all spoke of you and the girls [her sisters, Julia and Sarah] how we wished you could have it I suppose you have lots of nice Patés and other french fixins. We have been looking at Willies and your pictures this morning.... tell him we have a little calf a little beauty—how delighted he would be with it. Oh how happy he will be at San Matéo Agnes with sheep, calico colts chickings etc. he will be perfectly crazy. We must go out there to live remember it is where our all is. where I made my property and where we were married you ought to love the place and I am sure will. it has been everything to me and surely nothing can be more delightfull than to live as we can. our house at San Matéo where you can ride or drive every day as you like. our house in town to pass the winter in we can have our own eggs butter cheese, and vegitables and fruits. it will be different from before. you will be at the head of your house there whereas formerly someone has always been in charge now there will be no one but the farmers—think well of it Dear Agnes, before you make up your mind.

Wednesday It is a dreadfull warm day.... Abraham [his nephew] returned yesterday from Sac° [Maine]... he has been fishing every day caught fine cod etc, some of which he had salted and brought some with him....

Tell Julia the Plums are ripe, and very nice. We always think of her when we eat any, as she anticipated the pleasure of plucking them from her window. George has done that for her—he occupies that room now. We

have some delishous baked apples. Our cook bakes them better than any I ever eat so say all who eat them Yesterday she made a fine baked Indian pudding her jellys, Blacmonges and fleetings—in short all she undertakes beats Rosilla all to peices— . . . Dont forget to practice hard on the Piano. You had best study french too so as to be able to talk it well do now it will give me so much pleasure. Write me often oftener than I write you for remember I am sick and you know it tires me very much to write long letters—dont forget to number your letters as I have done. . . .

Wm.

No. 3 Weston Septbr 19th 1854

My dear Agnes

It is just one month to day since you left New York, it seems to me an age. I hope Dear Agnes you are quietly established in Paris. I hope contented and in good health. I was very much disappointed when the last Steamer arrived and no letters from you the "Atlantic" was reported as haveing arrived at Liverpool haveing made a fine passage I hope it was a pleasant one for you — You promised to have letters ready on your arrival to forward by first Steamer. one left the following day for Boston and brought none I hope you were not unwell on the passage so, as not to be able to write. but then some of you should have written if you knew how anxious I would be. I hope to get letters by the next mail, if I do not I shall be dreadfully disappointed. Since I wrote you last I have been into Boston once at the opening of the New Theatre it is truly a magnificent building and 2d in size to none in the world. The acting was very fine and I enjoyed it much. The comedy of the "Rivals" was performed and admirably acted The house was perfectly packed and it is supposed at least 3000 could not procure tickets. however the whole of the 1st nights bill was repeated the second giveing the disappointed ones a chance among whom even all our folks as only George and myself were able to get tickets for the first night, notwithstanding I had previously engaged them. . . . I saw Dr Ware, he thought I was getting on finely, says he does not advise my remaining in Boston all winter that if I did I should have to be very carefull. Keeping mostly in the house.

I think Dr Agnes I shall go to San Franc° my affairs require my presence there and I must go if I possibly can I have my all there, and it needs my looking after. I could not have a moments peace in Europe I am far enough off now from my business. It would not do for me to go further I feel almost sure I shall get well out there and if I do get better what do you say to comeing out. I could send for you if I found it would be injurious for me to take the trip. I had rather send someone . . . and I would like for you to bring the girls if you can. they will be so much company for you, besides Agnes they will get well married off. I long to hear from you to

hear how you get along. Mr. Wilde has very kindly offered to take anything I may have to send you. There is nothing I can send you from here. I send Willie some picture books – I wish you would send me Agnes a handsome set of studs and sleeve buttons, I am haveing some new shirts made and they are being made to use sleeve buttons, in Paris you can get these things so cheap and so handsome if you can I would like you to send them at once so that I can have them before I go out to California. Your Bankers can probably forward them for you or perhaps Mr Wilde can tell you how to send them. if you can get handsome ones and they dont cost too high so as to take too much of your money you might send me two setts. I shall be so proud of them, showing them and saying you sent them to me from Paris, something that suits your taste I would prefer. If Adams & Co have an express agency there you might make up a nice little package – say a doz of light colored gloves . . . a few little bottles of scents – but above all the studs and sleeve buttons. I want them to come as though you had thought of them yourself and that I had said nothing about them – Send them at once so that I can receive them before I go. . . . It is a cold stormy day to day, I shall remain out here through this month, and if it is warm a week or so in October. but I shall be already for a start at the end of the month. . . . Mary and the girls go in on Saturday next the girls school commences on Monday I am going to ask them up here to dine on Thursday and have a roast Turkey. I wish you were here to help us with it. . . .

George goes on to New York to see Mr Wilde off. so you will get the latest news from him. I hope Dear Agnes you will study hard the piano as well as french. . . . dont be quick with Willie but mild and use all your patience with him. if you are quick with him it teaches him to be so. Dear little boy how I would like to see him dont let him forget me and teach him to remember me with love. talk to him every day about me and when you write to always tell him that he may send me some little messages, and always tell him when you receive a letter from me teach him to take an interest in it and be glad to hear from me. I hope he will not get sick take good care of him Agnes it would break my heart to have anything happen to him. try and be happy my Dearest I think you will want to return again [to California] with me. I look forward to that time with great happiness. I lay awake nights and think of you two I am very sad at times Agnes nobody but myself knows it – do write me long letters. . . . Give my love to your Papa and Mama tell your Papa I am taking his medicine. I have not been taking it long enough to see the effects. I have the Rhumatism terribly now my joints are dreadfully swollen, owing a good deal to this bad weather. . . .

Your aff. Husband W D M H

I address you as Mrs. Agnes Howard because you are known at yr Bankers

MRS. WILLIAM DAVIS MERRY HOWARD

(b. March 11, 1833, Fayal; d. Feb. 3, 1893, San Mateo)

From a daguerreotype in the possession of the author

by that name and if I directed to Mrs WDMH the letters might miscarry — Caroline sends her love. . . . She gets along finely she is makeing me some dickeys and altering my shirts now.

Weston Sept. 21st 1854

My dearest Agnes

You can not imagine how much pleasure we all had upon receipt of your letters last evening I also received one from each of the dear girls how often do I think of their many many kindnesses to me last summer. I shall never forget it. Dear Agnes you must have been very home-sick how I wish we were together, we never have been a week seperated before and I miss you terribly. I hope you are contented in Paris. I dont know what to do. I want to be with you but if I go to Europe I shall not be able to go to San Franc° for a year from now. I have been away now nearly two years, and my presence there is required very much an old Spanish saying and a true one "el ojo de amo, si engourda el Caballo" ["el ojo del amo engorda el caballo," or the eye of the master fattens the horse] — and if I should go and find I am getting well I can send for you so that you can come out next year by that time the rail road will be done and and the journey will be that of a pleasure trip. They have all fine 1st class steamers on both sides now. This side to Aspinwall the "North Star" the steamer your father so much admired as we were going into our wharf in New York when we came from Boston the "Geo. Law" and "Illinois" — on the other side in connection with these are the Golden Gate, Golden Era (new and splendid) Sonora (new) and John L. Stephens (new) — I am undecided what to do since receiving your letter Agnes. I want to be with you, and I ought to be in San Franc° — I must determine soon, before the end of the month. dear little Willie what would I not give to see him give him lots of love for me

You asked me in yours to eat a pear for you. I sent in town yesterday for some pears & peaches for desert to day. Some splendid large juicey pears have been sent I will eat one for you to day I wish Dear Agnes you were here to eat some for yourself. It is very cold this morning . . . this weather will drive me in town. . . . The country looks beautifully now, tell your Father I wish he was here to eat some of the Apples; I had no idea this place had so many on it. . . . we have had some new Cider three or 4 times it is very nice. . . . I dare not drink much. . . .

Last evening while we were at tea a knock was heard at the door the waiter went and brought in one of the most beautiful dishes of flowers you ever saw with Mrs Bowditchs compliments to Mr Howard among them were some sweet pea. I send enclosed two or three to remind you of California — where I wish we were. You speak of your papas often speaking about economy etc. . . . if you find your papa is put to extra expence on your a/c you must make it up to him. . . . Study hard the Piano remember

I want you to excel every one, you can if you like, you have the style power and taste. all you want is application. I expect letters from you next week, when I shall learn how you are situated, and if you are contented. take good care of my dear little Willie. dont let him get sick for the world. . . . it is just about breakfast time and as I must send this to the depot before the mail closes I must bid you good bye. Mr. Wilde and Geo. left Boston for New York last evening. I send this to New York so that he may take it he [Mr. Wilde] leaves on Saturday. . . .

Your aff. Husband, W. D. M. Howard . . .

No. 6 Weston Oct. 8. 1854
Sunday morning

My dear Agnes

Your two letters of the 16th and 19th Sept. nos. 5 & 6 were received with much pleasure last evening. I had been unwell all day having passed a very bad night and I assure you Dear Agnes your letters made me feel quite a different person. . . . You ask if I miss you – do I? Yes and so do we all, theres not an hour passes but what your name is not mentioned. . . .

Dear Agnes I can not go over for you I do not feel that I could stand the journey I feel as though it would be my last and that I never should return. I am very weak and cough. . . . Some days I am better others not so well the same as when you were here. . . .

I shall send Abraham [his nephew] over for you, he will leave in the Havre Steamer of the beginning of November. You can then come home in January or February, but do not leave it later than the beginning of Febry, as March is a very bad month to cross the Atlantic in especially to come on to our coast and I want to leave New York on the 5 April for San Franc°. You will have time to see something of Paris and to pick up what articles you want – I want you to lay in a good stock of dresses. and little nice things for your self You will also have to bring home some presents for my sisters and the girls. Gloves and some perfumery will be nice or a dress each, you know best, they will expect gloves anyhow. . . .

I shall send out carpets for our house. perhaps furniture for the lower rooms and our rooms although George thinks I can get that as handsome and nearly at the same cost in San Franc° I shall, as soon as I go in town (Thursday next) order Chickering to make the very best *grand piano forte* he can make for you, so do practice my dear, and if you get a chance for a few lessons you will have so little time now that perhaps it will be as well not to take them, but ask your own pleasure you know best dont do any thing that will delay your being in New York in all February where I shall be to meet you be as saveing as you can of your money . . . but I want you to lay in a stock of nice things for your self such as dresses, handsome bonnets, nice gloves, nice perfumeries – (avoiding all those fancy destroyers of skin and complexion which ladies are so apt to put on their

faces) Abram will go about with you wherever you want to go. and you will see more than if I went for I should not be able to take you around. . . .

I am sorry Willie plagues you so much you must, notwithstanding his tricks, be easy with him [he was four years old]. I would not have his high spirit broken for the world he is a smart youth and must be humoured imagine his disagreeable situation, he that likes to talk so much and ask so many questions, cannot now make himself understood [in French] — I think I should feel somewhat out of temper myself.

Its a beautiful day, warm just such a day as you would like. The country looks beautifully the foliage is of so many thousand colours. I wish you were here to enjoy it. . . . Oh my dear Agnes it is in vain I sigh for you how glad I shall be to see you once more this short seperation I think will do us both good. . . .

Sunday evening. I have been thinking to day about starting Abraham off in the Havre packet which leaves New York on the 21st of this [month]. . . . You will then have more time to see the sights, if you should engage rooms you will bear in mind to engage one for him as he will be with you and be very carefull Agnes in what kind of a place you reside, remember a great many will hear of and know of you that you dont know. You can say to the people you know that I do not feel well enough to undertake the journey and that I have sent my nephew over for you be as economical as you can about rooms get good ones, but nothing expensive and showy. it costs a good deal sending over Abram. . . .

Kiss Willie a hundred times for me and tell him to be a good boy and as soon as he gets back to San Mateo he shall have a Pony and a saddle and bridle. but he must be a good boy and mind what you tell him. . . .

Your affte Husband William

No. 8 Boston October 18th. 1854

My Dear Agnes

Abraham leaves us tomorrow for New York The Steamer he goes in leaves on Saturday at 12 O'clk. direct for Havre so in all probability in 18 days from this he will be with you. and then you will feel as though you were not entirely alone. I have told Abram he must devote all his time to you, and whatever you want him to do you will tell him without hesitation . . . if you find that you wont have money enough with the $2000 credit you have you must write me and I will send you more. You will not omit purchasing nice things for yourself, such as dresses, bonnets, gloves etc etc. You of course know what you will require when you come back. I think it will be best to come via England. and you can come in Jany if you wish. I long to see you and Willie and we shall be very comfortable either in New York at the St. Nicholas or here as you may prefer

both this city and New York will be full of amusements, such as Opera and Theatre, besides I would like to take a trip to Philadelphia and Baltimore with you before we go back, and I want you to have a chance to show yourself with your new fit out, here before we go. You have got lots of visits to make all those ladies who called upon you after your return from the beach etc and the Howards Aunt Davis I want you to see her, the Clarks etc etc. dont forget to buy two nice opera glasses one for yourself and one for me let mine be a perfectly plain one but good. get a handsome one for yourself. I want you to get for me —

2 sets pretty shirt studs such as you like
2 " " sleeve buttons" " " "
1 dz light col'd kid Gloves No. 8½ if elastic
1 " dark " " " do
1 " white " " do
1 " linen cambric Hdkfs
½ " pretty cravats and any other little thing you think I might fancy. Some nice note paper the size you use and a little larger envelopes to match and scented. get yourself a nice little desk.

Now Agnes be sure and let me know in season if you want more money so that I can send it to you. You know there will be your own passage and Abrahams to pay over. and if your sisters come you will most certainly require more.... Go and see all the big sights in Paris, so that when you come back you can tell all about them. You had best write a little discription of what you see, in a small book as your memory is tricherous and it will afford you much pleasure to look it over when you are here it will bring back every thing to your mind hundreds of little things you would not otherwise think of let Willie see the sights and explain to him about them so that he will understand and not forget about them. tell him he must remember all he sees, so as to tell me all about it when he comes home....

Several who are judges tell me that January will be the best month to come over in. it will be cold but then the cabins will be warm. and you must get a good nice traveling cloak. and 2 or 3 shawls good but common. You will not of course dream of wearing your camels hair shawl the salt air would turn the colour and the least drop of water spot it. perhaps London would be the best place to get good thick shawls. They are always wanted. how handy when riding and to go out of an evening. I shall send you from New York the beginning of the month another letter of credit for a $1000 more in case you should require it, if you do not why of course you will not use it. You know you have a letter now for 2000$, but I do not want you stinted in articles for your dress nothing very extravagant, but good nice handsome articles. if you can spare the time I would like to have your portrait taken by Mr Page. he is said to be the best in

the world mind and keep an exact a/c of what every thing costs you, so that we can compare prices with those here, you need not set down sous etc in yr. book, when you spend up to a dollar for little things put down Sundries so much whatever it amts to. get yourself a nice handsome riding whip any little thing like that they have them so much prettier there. and a good stock of gloves.

George and I were going to day to look at carpets there is a splendid stock in the market now of all kinds and discriptions. furniture for our parlour and sitting room [in San Mateo] I shall have made here I shall also send out a full handsome set of glass ware to use upon occations. I will write you more fully what I send after making my purchases. things that we require [photostatic copy of this letter ends here].

No. 9 Friday morning in bed
20th October 54

. . . the things you buy whether or not it would be best to ship them direct from Havre as they may make you pay duties in England, and then again here would be rather too much. you see you will have more than they probably allow a Lady traveling. 2 or 3 bonnets, dozens of gloves and all this they are very particular in the custom house. I have told Abram to make enquiries of Green & Co how this is to be managed and as his memory is bad he may be required to be reminded of it — You will want a handsome cloak. they are so pretty and warm — and then you want a good traveling cloak warm and one that you can knock about in — it will be cold coming home in the Steamer and you must dress warm and have Willie dress warm too. if you intend getting dresses made in Paris which I suppose you will some few, you had best be about it at once — mind and get pretty bonnets, not too small — and you want too a little jewelry and you can get such pretty things there, dont let them cheat you the things I wrote for I dont want expensive. . . .

It's a beautiful day Your dear William

After their return to California, most of W. D. M. Howard's time until his death at the age of thirty-six years, eight months, was spent on his rancho at San Mateo. (See *Alta California*, Jan. 20, 1856, quoted in this QUARTERLY, June 1948, p. 111.) The following letter is the last in the present series:

San Matéo
31st Oct. 1855

Dear Agnes

I received your note yesterday afternoon. We are all pretty well Willy wants his Mother to come home and wants to know how many days before Saturday, if you do not wish to come out then, why not remain a few

days longer – if you ride the Drs Rhuben be very carefull as he is spirited

Marie goes in with Tim, he will return tomorrow if you have any messages.

Yours affectionately
William

I send some little cheeses for Mrs. Bowie, to whom make my compliments

APPENDIX

I have found the San Francisco directories very helpful in supplying dates with respect to my grandfather's and great-uncle's business affairs, when the family records fail to be explicit. For example, George H. Howard appears in Kimball's (1850) as agent for the "Stockton Steamers" with an office on Montgomery between Sacramento and Clay, where Howard & Green, commission merchants, are said to be located. In 1852, after the Talbot H. Green debacle the preceding year, W. D. M. (alone) is given as "upstairs" at 137 Montgomery Street, with no business designation; but in 1854, again alone, he appears as in real estate, office "Howard's buildings" (no entry for George H.). W. D. M. died in January 1856 and is consequently omitted in Colville's 1856-57 *Directory*, but George H. is listed at the above Montgomery address, 3d floor (no business nor dwelling specified), and there is a separate entry for the Howard Building, 137 Montgomery. From 1858 on, George H., at the same business address, is said to be in real estate (residence, 1858, at 272 Powell St.; 1859, sw cor. Stockton and Pacific; 1860-61, south side Bush near Taylor). In 1858, too, a new entry at the same address as George H.'s makes its appearance—"office of estate of"—after W. D. M.'s name. In 1860-61, in addition to real estate, George H. is called "agent" for W. D. M., deceased; and the information is repeated in the entry for W. D. M. Howard. The next year (1862) shows a change of business address for the estate and for George H. to 523 Montgomery Street (no dwelling given for G. H. H.). Not until the 1864-65 edition is the latter's residence shown in San Mateo (see Note 9, above). He continues to be listed as in real estate (and, for 1871-73 only, as vice-president of the Home Mutual Insurance Co.) until his death in 1878. The business address, "Howard's Building" (then at 519-23 Montgomery), follows his name beginning in 1873 through 1878.

Naming of the Elector-Designate, Santa Barbara, 1830

Translated, with Introduction and Notes,

By Pablo Avila

THE year 1822 that saw the news of Mexican independence reach California saw Gov. Pablo Vicente Solá announcing "California's first general election" and giving instructions for the choice of partido [district] electors, provincial electors, and, finally, the deputy to represent the province in the Mexican Congress.[1] The deputy was to have only a voteless voice, however, and, as it turned out, he was seatless as well.[2] The choice that year fell on Solá himself.

Solá was succeeded in November 1822 as jefe político[3] [ad interim] by Luís Antonio Argüello, who, before the end of the following year, summoned a junta, which met on January 7, 1824. The fruit of their labors was a plan of government, "California's first constitution or organic law," but it had little political authority.[4] In November 1825 José María Echeandía succeeded Argüello as governor. By the end of the next year Echeandía issued a call for new elections which resulted on February 18, 1827, in the choice of José de la Guerra y Noriega as deputy from California to Mexico for the term 1827-28. He was of Spanish birth, consequently was not allowed to take his seat; and his substitute, Gervasio Argüello (brother of Luís), though he managed actually to *sit in*, was of small benefit to his constituents.[5] Meanwhile, late in 1824, the first elected president of Mexico, Guadalupe Victoria, had appointed a commission to make recommendations for the development of the Californias, and during their deliberations a plan for establishing an elective system in the territories took shape in a section dated August 31, 1827, and entitled, "Initiative Plan of Government." Article 24, under Powers of the Governor, reads: "To order in the manner prescribed by law . . . the annual meeting of the electoral group to appoint magistrates, and in proper time, the electors to nominate the deputies to the general Congress."[6] Among the members of this commission was former Governor Solá.[7]

On July 30 of the next year (1828), Governor Echeandía issued another electoral edict (the bando referred to in the document translated below) with complete directions for holding elections, to commence the third Sunday in August.[8] At that time the choice of deputy to the Mexican Congress fell on Lieut. José Joaquín Maitorena of Santa Barbara, who, it seems, was too inebriate to occupy his seat.[9]

The meetings of interest to us and recorded in the present document as

having taken place in September 1830 at Santa Barbara, come under the provisions for a "secondary" or partido election, the "primary" or municipal election having been held the month before. According to the provisions laid down in Echeandía's proclamation, the electors were to choose a secretary and two inspectors at the first meeting; the next day, credentials were to be presented; at the following meeting, report on credentials; and, at the final reconvening of the group, choice (by secret ballot) was to be made of the elector de partido, or the person whose duty it was to proceed to Monterey and, on October 3, 1830, represent his district in the election of the delegate to the Mexican Congress.[10] The reader will notice that in the Santa Barbara document there is a difference in the procedure followed by the electors; i. e., the naming of a secretary and two inspectors is recorded as taking place at the *last* meeting, on September 5, 1830, the previous meetings having occurred on September 2 and 3. The "secretary of the inspection committee," who signed the acta or record for the September second meeting, was presumably the person (provided for in sections 7-9 of Echeandía's bando) serving in that capacity for the municipal electors, of whom the present group was composed.

As for the requirements applying to candidates for elector-designate (Domingo Carrillo in this instance), he must have been a resident of the district for five years; have reached the age of twenty-five, or, if married, that blessed state permitted him to slice four years off the age stipulation; he must be able to read and write; and, further, he must not at the time hold any civil, military, or ecclesiastical office.[11]

The document, below, carries in its original form three seals: that of Charles IV, for the years 1808 and 1809; the seal of Ferdinand VII for 1812-13; and that of the Republic of Mexico for 1824-25. The use of such old stationery is an instance of the conservatism of the Santa Barbara district,[12] and also their lack of compunction in using (because of the shortage of writing materials) the seals, etc., typifying the old Spanish regime—this, in spite of the fact that in Mexico itself natives of Spain ran the risk of expulsion.[13]

In a chapter which he calls "Local Annals of Santa Barbara District," Bancroft speaks of the loss of municipal records, to such a great extent that "respecting the pueblo government . . . and even [the] list of officers, only a slight record can be formed from miscellaneous scattered documents."[14] He then gives the names of certain office holders commencing with 1831-32. By publication of the document translated below, some contribution may be made to our knowledge of the way in which partido elections were conducted, in this one case at least; and the biographical detail regarding most of the participants' services as electors in 1830, heretofore lacking, may now be entered after their respective names.

THE DOCUMENT

All the municipal electors assembled at the private home of the commandant, acting jefe político subalterno,[15] the second of September, 1830, at the Port of Santa Barbara, in Alta California. They proceeded, according to article 26 of the election proclamation [bando] for a deputy, with the examination and scrutiny of the credentials given each one. The meeting adjourned when the credentials were found in order in every respect. All the electors were requested to attend the meeting set for the Sunday following. The chairman and secretary of the inspection committee signed this acta [record].

[SIGNED] Romualdo Pacheco [rubric]
[SIGNED] Fernando Ticó [rubric] [SIGNED] Jazinto Lorenzana [rubric]
[SIGNED] Carlos Antonio Carrillo [rubric]
Secretary

The municipal electors, who are to name the elector for this partido [district] according to the proclamation published to that effect, met on September 3rd, 1830, at the private home of C. [Ciudadano: Citizen] Romualdo Pacheco, the jefe político subalterno and commandant of the Port of Santa Barbara, in Alta California. Reports were read on the credentials that were discussed in yesterday's meeting. Since no objections were brought up, the meeting adjourned. All were asked to attend the meeting on the fifth instant for the choosing of the elector according to law.

[SIGNED] Fernando Ticó [rubric] [SIGNED] Romualdo Pacheco [rubric]
[SIGNED] Carlos Antonio Carrillo [rubric]
Secretary

Commandant Romualdo Pacheco, acting jefe político subalterno, met with the municipal electors Fernando Ticó, Carlos Antonio Carrillo, Anastasio Carrillo, Dámaso Antonio Rodríguez, Roberto Pardo and Jazinto Lorenzana. José María García, being seriously ill, did not attend. This meeting took place at the government building, after high mass, on the fifth of September 1830, at the Port of Santa Barbara, in Alta California. They proceeded with the selecting of the elector-designate for this partido and with the naming of a secretary and two inspectors. According to the provisions of law, balloting took place secretly. Alférez Domingo Carrillo received four votes; Carlos Antonio, two. The former, having received a majority, was chosen elector-designate to the satisfaction of the electoral junta of this partido. He and all the other electors[16] are to meet at Monterey to name a proprietary deputy[17] and a substitute to the general congress [Mexico] as well as the deputies[18] to the most eminent Diputación of the Territory. This election was promulgated. A copy of the acta was given

to the elector-designate as proof of his election. With this the meeting adjourned. The chairman and secretary of the inspection committee signed.

[SIGNED] Romualdo Pacheco [rubric]

[SIGNED] Fernando Ticó [rubric] [SIGNED] Jazinto Lorenzana [rubric]

[SIGNED] Carlos Antonio Carrillo [rubric]

Secretary

Acknowledgment: I am indebted to the owner, Mr. Oliver Moraga of Santa Barbara, for permission to translate the above document for publication.

NOTES

(All citations to H. H. Bancroft are to his *History of California,* San Francisco, 1884-90.)

1. Bancroft, II, 454.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 676.
3. Practically the equivalent of "governor" under Spanish rule. (Bancroft, II, 675.)
4. *Ibid.*, p. 511.
5. *Ibid.*, III, 33-34.
6. Keld J. Reynolds, translator and editor, "Principal Actions of the California Junta de Fomento, 1825-1827," this QUARTERLY, XXV (Sept. 1946), 270.
7. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, XXIV (Dec. 1945), 291-92.
8. José María Echeandía, *Bando sobre Elecciones,* Dept. State Papers, San Jose, IV, 55-71 (MS in Bancroft Library). For rules governing the election described in our document, see section entitled "De las Juntas Segundas ó de Partido," and especially No. 26 (on p. 61). The substance of Echeandía's proclamation is given in Bancroft, III, 43-45, note 25.
9. Bancroft, III, 44-45.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
11. See note 8, above.
12. Bancroft, III, 652.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 51 ff. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, XXV (Sept. 1946), 267 and 277: the expulsion law of May 10, 1827, caught Francisco de Paula Tamariz, a member of the junta of 1825-27, in the midst of its deliberations.
14. Bancroft, III, 653.
15. See note 3, above.
16. From San Francisco, San Jose, Monterey, Los Angeles, and San Diego.
17. The Carlos Antonio Carrillo mentioned above was chosen as California's deputy for 1831-32 at that meeting. (See note 10, above; also Bancroft, II, 743.) Juan Bandini was made suplente (substitute) deputy. (*Ibid.*, 709.)
18. This means, most probably, the election of the new members required, judging from Bancroft, III, 44, note 25, section 57; *ibid.*, p. 50.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

(An idea of the characters and careers of the eight men named here can be had from the following biographical notes, based chiefly on data in Bancroft's Pioneer Register.)

Romualdo Pacheco, a Mexican sub-lieutenant of engineers and explorer of routes California to Sonora via the Colorado River, came to California in 1825 as aide-de-camp to Gov. José María Echeandía. In December of the year preceding the meetings recorded in the above document, Pacheco, then acting comandante at Santa Barbara, had been arrested and held prisoner over night by his present associate among the municipal electors, Dámaso Antonio Rodríguez. At that time Rodríguez was leader

of the local group supporting Joaquín Solís in his revolt against the governor. The year after the above meetings and while fighting by the side of the succeeding governor, Manuel Victoria, Captain Pacheco was killed by José María Avila, a reckless but skilled horseman. Of Captain Pacheco's son Romualdo, acting-governor of California in 1875, Bancroft said: "In respect of official positions, Gov. Pacheco has been more prominent since '48 than any other native Californian...." (II, 509; IV, 764.)

Fernando Ticó was the son of Sgt. Joaquín Ticó (executor of the will of Pedro de Alberni, military commandant of Alta California, 1801-02). Information on Fernando previous to the time of the document translated above is scanty, being limited to his having been mentioned as ex-alcalde of Santa Barbara in '29. Nothing is said of his having been a municipal elector in 1830. In 1837 he was grantee of the Ojai Rancho, served as one of the managers of municipal affairs at Santa Barbara, 1844-45, and in the last named year was grantee of 400 varas of the San Buenaventura Mission property. (Bancroft, IV, 643; V, 748.)

Three of the four sons of José Raimundo Carrillo (founder of the family in California) and his wife Tomasa Ignacia Lugo, are among the group concerned in the above document: Carlos Antonio Carrillo, the eldest son; Anastasio, the second in point of age, and Domingo, the third. The youngest, José Antonio Carrillo, not mentioned here, used his influence in 1837-39 to advance, unsuccessfully, the cause of his brother Carlos as governor, in opposition to Juan B. Alvarado, the incumbent since 1836. Carlos, at first a soldier, had served as partido elector three years before the meetings described in the above document, and was a member of the provincial legislative assembly (diputación) in 1828. As stated in note 17, Bancroft records his election to the Mexican congress 1831-32, but does not mention him as one of the municipal electors in 1830. In Mexico he worked in favor of the missions and for Californian as against Mexican officers in the province. His speech, *Exposición sobre el Fondo Piadoso*, [or *Explanation of the Pious Fund*] (Mexico, 1831), is said to have been the first production of a native Californian printed in book form. (Bancroft, II, 743, 746.) Two years after Carlos' return from attending the Mexican congress, occurred the marriage of his daughter Francisca to the merchant Alpheus B. Thompson. In appearance this eldest son of the union of the Carrillos with the Lugos was said to have been "one of the most noble looking men I think I ever saw." (William A. Streeter's "Recollections of Historical Events in California, 1843-1878," edited by W. H. Ellison, this QUARTERLY, XVIII, Sept. 1939, p. 256.)

Carlos' brother Anastasio Carrillo, also one of the municipal electors named in the above document though not so recorded by Bancroft, was a soldier and continued in the service of the army until he retired on full pay in 1836. He took part in the secularization of the Santa Barbara Mission and was grantee of Point Concepción in 1837 and of the Cieneguita Rancho in 1845. (Bancroft, II, 743.)

Domingo Carrillo, chosen, as the document shows, the elector-designate, was some eight years younger than his brother Carlos, and was also a soldier (serving both in Santa Barbara and San Diego). The fact that he was one of the municipal electors of 1830 is recorded by Bancroft. His wife, whom he married in 1810, was Concepción, one of the sisters of Pío Pico, two of whose other sisters became the first and second wives of Domingo's youngest brother, José Antonio Carrillo. (Bancroft, II, 744, 745.)

Dámaso Antonio Rodríguez, mentioned in connection with the arrest of Romualdo Pacheco on the night of December 3-4, 1829, had been sergeant in the Santa Barbara presidial company for some ten years previous to the time of the above document, but the records heretofore have not shown him as one of the electors. He was made

alférez of the San Francisco company in 1833 and is said to have been invalided at Sonoma from 1837, with full pay. However, he is reported to have taken part in the Olómpali fight on June 24, 1846, during the Bear Flag revolt, but died soon afterward. (Bancroft, III, 78; V, 700.)

Little information could be found on the career of Roberto Pardo previous to the meetings of the electors in 1830 (his presence among them is not recorded by Bancroft), except that he was a Mexican or Indian sergeant of the Mazatlán company at Monterey as early as 1820. He was alférez of the Santa Barbara presidial company in 1838 (possibly earlier) and was acting lieutenant and comandante from 1842 to 1845. (Bancroft, IV, 766-67.)

Equally limited is the information about Jacinto Lorenzana and José María García *prior to* 1830, nor is mention made of their taking part in the activities of the municipal electors of that year. (For Lorenzana, see Bancroft, III, 655, and IV, 718; for García, III, 653, note 4; 654, 753.)

The California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins

(Concluded)

Next the redoubtable Ralston, who was of course a creditor of the Central Pacific, formed a sham railroad company with a subscription of $25,000,000 made by all the heavy capitalists of the city who were bondholders of the C. P. or creditors—anyway their sympathizers. This "Colorado River R. R. Co.", as it was called, was advertised as intending to build a road from San Francisco to the Needles on the Colorado River, without any partnership or entangling alliance with the Atlantic & Pacific R. R. Co. . . .

As a great deal of the discussion in the committee and newspapers bore upon the possibilities of bringing the railroads into San Francisco, much was said about a bridge to cross the bay at Redwood City. Stanford and company offered to build this bridge and make their terminus on the sixty acres in Mission Bay previously granted them by the state for that purpose (as yet wholly unused and unfilled in), if the city would contribute $2,500,000 in its bonds. . . . So here were three propositions to bond the city for heavy sums in aid of railroads. . . .

Ten supervisors out of twelve voted to pass to print the orders necessary to submit to popular vote the questions of issuing the aids asked for by Ralston's company and the monopoly, while no notice whatever was taken of the Atlantic & Pacific petition! A week then remained during which action could be legally taken. We called an indignation mass meeting. It was crowded. Judge Hagar atoned for his former apathy in the cause by a capital two-hour speech, full of fire and fury. The meeting adjourned to the city hall on the following Monday night, when the supervisors were to take final action in the matter. But as the people began to assemble they found a battery of artillery drawn up before the doors and four hundred policemen under arms in the basement. It was also learned that the three regiments of city militia were assembled in their armories, ready to march on telegraphic notice! The military triumphed over the will of the people this time. Under its protection, the supervisors perfected their infamous orders by the same vote, ten to two. . . .

No sooner was it apparent that our proposition could not be laid before the people at the election, than both the other propositions were withdrawn. But our scheme was killed for good and all; and for twelve years thereafter, no opposition or even threat thereof, disturbed the monopoly in its scheme for pocketing the profits of the entire inland and overland transportation of the state.

And in looking back on these exciting times and watching the course

of subsequent events, all the promoters of that scheme are willing to forget that they ever favored it. We never thought of pooling our stock. In default whereof, had those bonds been issued, and our company been once organized, the Stanford crowd would have waited till the excitement had subsided and assessments had become burdensome, then quietly would have bought up the stock and in a year or two would have owned a controlling interest and received the entire benefit of all our labor! Even if this had not been done, we were dealing with a crowd, the more helpless when opposed by a single or highly concentrated executive. Private interests would have crept in—divisions would have ensued. Meantime the perpetual burden of $600,000 in taxes to meet the interest on the bonds would have been a millstone about the neck of the city's progress, and curses both loud and deep would have overwhelmed in life-long unpopularity all who could be blamed for the creation of the debt. Suffice it to say, now, that though I should probably have succeeded as a railroad builder, the office of secretary of the California Atlantic & Pacific R. R. Company, which would have been mine had the bonds been issued, would have been anything but a bed of roses.

As to my compensation for this service and others connected with it, I will only relate that after the return of our special committee from St. Louis, the *Bulletin* was very anxious that I should write up the subject for that paper, and offered me ten dollars per article, some to be inserted as editorials, others as communications with different signatures. So I worked hard in getting up ten articles. When I sent in my bill (after the failure of the scheme), instead of a check for one hundred dollars, which I expected, I received a note informing me that it was the rule of the paper not to pay anything for communications because the writer of such matter was usually paid sufficiently by getting it into print; but only for editorials, and as only two of my articles had been used as editorials, the sum of twenty dollars was at my service. Of course I declined this munificent offer, and since then the *Bulletin* has been no friend of mine.

No other reward or consideration of any kind was made to me for my services in this matter. In fact, the scheme having failed, there was nobody to make it. There was a little talk of sending me to congress, but I refused to allow my name to be used in that connection. However, I made considerable reputation out of the Committee of 100 and the prominent part I took in it.

But meanwhile my book[99] had made friends for me among educated persons, and I was elected a member of the "Berkeley Club." That was and is a private debating society in Oakland, whose members are limited to thirty, and to which none but college-bred men, who are capable of thinking, talking and writing to good purpose, are eligible. The ablest professors in the University of California constitute about half the members; the others are lawyers, doctors, scientists, etc., who are proud of the

association and generally regular in their attendance at the meetings. The Club meets fortnightly at dinner at the convenient rooms over the Hamilton Church, Oakland.[100] After an hour at table, where the flow of wit, anecdote and small talk has broken the chill of the meeting, the members repair to the Library, and an essay on a topic previously announced is read by the appointed lecturer. Discussion follows, in five minute speeches, each member and guest present being called upon in turn, after which comes a general debate. Many of the papers written for this club appear afterwards in the magazines. Some are repeated before other audiences. But the press and public are excluded from the meetings and no vote is ever taken to decide the result of the discussion. The topics embrace every question in every department of inquiry and opinion excepting dogmatic theology and party politics. As an educational institution this club has been the most useful of my life. It has been a source of great satisfaction to me that I continued to be a member of it for twelve years, never missing a meeting when in town and well enough to go out; that I read eighteen papers before it, always resulting in a good discussion, and that when I left Oakland in 1885, my resignation was not accepted but my name was placed on the list of honorary members. The Berkeley Club is the strongest tie of any that bind me to the state and cities where I so long lived and labored.

XXI.

I have previously mentioned that preparatory to the publication of my "Manual of American Ideas" I printed an author's edition for circulation among distinguished educators, statesmen and publicists, with a printed letter inviting criticism, and that I received a large number of replies thereto. Among these was a most encouraging letter from the celebrated writer and professor, Francis Lieber,[101] which must have been one of the last written by him, for he died shortly after I received it. When his widow came to settle up his little estate, she found herself obliged to sell his private library of about 2,000 volumes, and offered it to Pres. Daniel C. Gilman[102] of the University of California for sixty days at the price of $2,000.

Gilman having been a pupil of Lieber's and a boarder in his family while a student, and knowing of my correspondence with him, came to me with the question whether I could not raise that $2,000 among the rich German-Americans of San Francisco, who might wish to present the library of their distinguished compatriot to the state university. I replied favorably, and at once undertook the subscription. I found little trouble in raising $1,250 of the required sum, but there I seemed to stick for several days. Meeting Michael Reese in the cars I explained the matter to him, though without any expectations from a man ignorant of literary matters . . . yet so wealthy as he; but to my surprise he handed back the subscription book with the remark, "Hopkins, in three days I will tell you whether I will

furnish all the money you want or none, but I will not sign that book with other people."

By the appointed time, in walked Michael with a draft on New York for $2,000 payable to the order of Mrs. Lieber. He was willing to donate the principal, $2,000, but when it came to the 75 cents exchange which the banks would have charged to place the money in New York, he could not screw up his courage to allow anyone else to make that perquisite! Gilman, of course, wrote him a handsome acknowledgment, which I took pains to have widely published and for several days Michael was happy in a new sensation. "Why, Hopkins," he exclaimed, "the newspapers are saying a good word for me! That never happened before to me!" And he went and made a new will, wherein he left $50,000 to the university library, and $100,000 more to other charities, which sums were promptly paid by his executor a few years later.

As Reese was one of the original twenty subscribers to the stock of the California Insurance Company, and retained his interest till his death, I saw a good deal of him. He was a Jew, with only the merest rudiments of education, but with a most uncommon business talent. Penurious in small matters, he was at home in large affairs, where his judgment was remarkably sound and enabled him to leave an estate of some $10,000,000, though he sacrificed his life to save a silver groschen! All his transactions were in the nature of regular business. He did not fear debt, even large debts, when buying property for investment, but he never broke his word or violated an engagement or appointment. . . .

[On September 13, 1875, Mrs. Caspar T. Hopkins died at Alderwood, their house in Fruitvale, after a long illness. Two of the older daughters had married: Frances Isabella ("Belle"), on June 5, 1873, to Mr. Frank Hinckley of Bangor, Maine; and Dita, on July 29, 1874, to Mr. Mark H. Kinney of Cincinnati, both of the ceremonies taking place at St. Paul's Church, Burlington, Vermont. The year after Mrs. Hopkins' death, Hopkins and his remaining daughters, Mellie[103] and Myra, and Willie, a son, moved to "Captain" Daniel F. Hutchings' new house on 11th Street, East Oakland. (Hutchings was marine surveyor of the California Insurance Company.) The winter of 1876-77 another move was made, this time to the Knox House on Telegraph Avenue, where Mr. Knox built a separate cottage for them. The two younger children, Myra and Willie, were under the excellent care of Mrs. Jane E. Taylor, who had been keeping house for the Hopkins family since Mrs. Hopkins' death.

In 1877, Hopkins became interested in the Lake Vineyard Land and Water Association (of which J. De Barth Shorb was a part-owner) in the Pasadena area and particularly in the Mutual Orchard Company which proposed to plant certain sections to oranges and lemons. But the trees, under absentee ownership, failed because of improper care. Even on his own acreage, which he called Olivewood and to which he removed in 1885, the bills for culture of his olive and raisin-grape plantings exceeded the profits. Hopkins' large-scale real estate investments were also subject to wide variation in profits.

Early in 1878, as a possible aid in curing the severe eczema from which he suffered, Hopkins and his second wife, Mrs. Jane Taylor, whom he married in Oakland on

November 24, 1877, visited Honolulu on the *SS. City of New York*, but the voyage brought him no relief from his affliction.]

While lying sick at the Knox Cottage before leaving for Honolulu I was waited upon by Louis L. Bromwell, a young man of thirty-two, who had been twelve years in the employ of the Phoenix Insurance Company of Hartford, as special agent and adjustor, and had now, on a change in its San Francisco agency, been disappointed in an expected promotion. He offered his services to the California in any capacity we might desire. For many reasons he would have been an acquisition to our force, and before I left I earnestly recommended his employment as general agent to our directors. They accordingly took him on in that capacity during my absence, and from that time, either as general agent, vice president or secretary, the laboring oar in propelling the progress of the company was ably manned by him, until he succeeded me as president eight years later.

[During 1878 while the convention, called to draft a new constitution for California, was in session, Hopkins wrote several articles, which were published in the San Francisco *Argonaut* and in the *Bulletin*, advocating decentralization in the state government and more regard for self-government by counties and towns.]

I also lectured several times this year to the students in the Nautical School. One Capt. E. M'Nevin, an educated Englishman, had established a school for the instruction of officers in the merchant service, which, at my suggestion, was taken under the patronage of the Board of Marine Underwriters, whose president and secretary countersigned all the certificates granted by the school. At M'Nevin's request I lectured once or twice to each class on marine insurance, a new and popular feature. The school was maintained for several years, my lectures continuing until I quit business. Fewer disasters and more intelligent management of wrecks soon reduced the rates of premium in the coasting trade, thus encouraging the building of finer and larger vessels and culminating in great reductions of freight charges.

In November of this year, I was to my surprise elected sole trustee in bankruptcy of the Sierra Flume and Lumber Company, a monster corporation owing about $3,000,000, whose creditors chose me (asking no bonds) to receive, hold and disburse property to the value of $2,500,000 for the benefit of all concerned. This trust occupied two years, during which I paid every claim and accounted for every dollar and charged only $2,400 for my services. As a result whereof I was denounced for ruining the trustee business! If I had stolen a few hundred thousand and charged $50,000 for my trouble, I might have got further employment in that direction. But I never got another such job!

XXII.

During the first six years of my presidency of the California Insurance

Company it was part of my duty to loan the funds of the corporation without being hampered by any finance committee. The result was something unusual. The paid up capital was then $60,000 and the assets rose from $242,990 at the beginning of 1866 to $410,442 at the end of 1871; notwithstanding the payment of $278,000 in dividends and $824,907.50 in losses and expenses meanwhile. During this period the interest collected was no less than $339,018.69 or nearly 100 per cent on the average assets, and the losses on loans reached only a quarter of one per cent on the aggregate interest! that is $834.25. Probably no banker in the world could show a better result than that. Yet the directors were not satisfied. Finding among my loans, six months after it was made, a note for $10,000 at one year, secured on a manufacturing stock at fifty cents on the dollar of its value, Mr. N. Luning, the great millionaire, objected that it should have been made payable at one day instead of a year. The board sustained the objection, notwithstanding my prompt collection of that note six months before it was due, and thereafter saddled me with a finance committee of two, both able financiers, whose directions I was required to follow. I did so strictly, and the result was a loss of $40,000 during the next six years, to say nothing of the trouble devolved upon me in extricating our funds from the vortex of investments wholly or partially bad.

Among these unsatisfactory loans was a mortgage of $8,000 on 60 acres of land near Berkeley, made in 1873, when Oakland and vicinity were in the full enjoyment of a "boom." The land was then valued at $1,000 per acre, nearly eight times the sum loaned on it. But the interest was not paid, and on foreclosing the mortgage we found out that the mortgagor's title was only that of a trustee, and that he had procured the loan fraudulently for his own uses. . . . But at last the patent was issued to the land, and the statute of limitations began to run against these old claims. In the year 1880, the title being at length settled, I had the land fenced and laid out according to the rules of English landscape gardening, in which Hogarth's curved line, "the line of beauty and grace," predominated. The lot was in the form of a trapezoid, and located on the gently rolling surface of the foothills to the coast range of mountains back of Berkeley. Its highest point was only 104 feet above the lowest, and a buggy could be drawn over every part of it. A creek coursed its devious channel through the lot, fringed here and there with oaks and alders. I had wide, meandering streets laid out in the valleys, which were graded, turnpiked and provided with stone gutters. The property was made accessible by a new and broad roadway named Hopkins Street, running from the San Pablo road to Berkeley and about two miles long, which was graded and turnpiked, all at the expense of the company. I named the streets in the tract after our directors, Merritt Avenue, Tichenor Avenue, Birmingham Avenue. A fine bridge was built across the creek, thirty lots were laid out, all of different shapes and sizes,

whose boundaries were marked by cypress hedges. Five thousand standard trees, mostly eucalyptus, were set out along the streets and around the outer lines of the tract, and in clumps of many varieties, pine, cypress, acacia, locust, etc., etc., at the intersections of lot lines. We named the place Peralta Park, and engaged an old Prussian farmer who lived close by, named John Schmidt, and an Irish gardener named Wm. Martin, to take care of the place—the former for what hay he could raise on the lots, the latter for one of the smaller lots; and so it was nicely kept up till 1888, three years after I left the service of the company. Meantime, for many years, it was unsalable and of only nominal value. The boom collapsed long before our title was settled. But in 1888 the company sold it to a gentleman named Curtis, an ex-theatrical manager, and a man of taste and culture, for $37,500. In a month or two later, they could have got $75,000, for its fame as the most beautiful spot in Alameda County had begun to spread, and property values had begun to revive. Now (in 1889) a large hotel has been erected on the most prominent knoll, and a dozen elegant homes are built or in progress of erection on other lots. It is rapidly becoming what I intended it to be, a village of lovely homes for families of education and taste. But probably not one of all its present or future occupants has heard or ever will hear even the name of the man who planned and executed the works that give Peralta Park its charm, and who never received a cent of profit or anybody's thanks for all the twelve years labor and anxiety which created that oasis in what was once a desert!

My membership in the Berkeley Club had in 1879 continued for six years with great benefit to my reading and powers of thought and expression. But it was wholly a private institution. Its debates were never reported or printed, and though many of its essays were published in magazines, reviews and pamphlets, they never appeared as emanations from the club. Consequently, little or no public benefit was directly induced by its existence nor any practical result attained in any special direction.

I thought that in San Francisco there must be many students and thinkers who were interested in various branches of social science, and might easily be brought together in a similar institution in that city where essays and debates on topics of a strictly practical nature, written and conducted by men having no private axes to grind, might be of no little service in the formation of public opinion and in shaping state and municipal legislation. So I undertook the formation of the "Pacific Social Science Association." In this I was assisted by Alexander Del Mar, a remarkable character, with whom I made acquaintance in the smoking room of a palace car. Del Mar is a Spanish Jew by birth—a scholar, thinker, writer, speaker, and cosmopolite whose native energy and versatile industry have led him all over the world, into many studies and fields of effort, and brought him into intimate contact with distinguished men everywhere. His profession on this coast

was that of a mining expert, and his reports on the values of mines were and are relied on by many English capitalists in their negotiations for purchase. He was widely known and bitterly denounced among stock gamblers because, while acting as special agent of the U. S. Treasury Department he had made a report on the celebrated "Con Virginia" bonanza, then selling at the rate of hundreds of millions and supposed inexhaustible, in which he gave its dimensions, calculated its real value, and predicted the early date at which it would be worked out (in all of which the event proved him nearly correct). He was reported to have refused a large bribe to suppress this report. He has always paid special attention to the precious metals and money in all ages and countries, and has published several works on these topics which are quoted as the best authorities. He also wrote Senator Jones' (of Nevada) celebrated Silver Speech, on which that gentleman's fame as a statesman has since rested, but who paid Del Mar $5,000 for many weeks labor in putting the right words into his mouth. Need I say I was proud of the friendship and cooperation of such a man as Alexander Del Mar? That we succeeded in forming the society goes without saying.

We used to meet in Parlor A of the Palace Hotel, that room famous for a thousand conclaves, the birthplace of a thousand public movements. We soon had fifty names on our roll of membership. Among them were the late B. B. Redding, Hon. Senator Sargent, Prof. Pomeroy of the Hamilton Law School, Chester A. Washburn, of the famous Washburn family of Minnesota. All of these are now deceased. We had also Dr. C. W. Moore, Dr. A. B. Stout, Dr. Behr of the Academy of Sciences, Lawyers H. N. Clement, E. W. M'Graw, Wm. Royal, S. W. Holladay, Hon. D. C. M'Ruer, Ex. Gov. Alvan Flanders (of Oregon), F. B. Perkins, a nephew of Henry Ward Beecher, several of the bright young men employed by the railroad monopoly, and lastly Montague R. Leverson, an English intellectual crank. It was surprising how many good papers were produced by that association during the two years of its existence. One paper by Mr. Redding, who was the land agent of the Southern Pacific, on the "practical method of bringing immigrants upon the public lands of California," was adopted as the basis of the work of the Immigration Society established by the board of trade as the successor of my bantling, the "California Immigrant Union." It proved a grand success. I contributed a treatise on "Taxation in California" which, being published, attracted the favorable comment of David A. Wells of Connecticut, the greatest American writer on such topics, and was widely noticed by the press. But its fruits in a change of legislation are yet to come.

Del Mar & Leverson were both "facile princeps" in writing and in discussions. Pomeroy treated the relations of capital and labor. Holladay upheld the dogmas of the late greenback party; Dr. Moore wrote on the pathology of insanity; Mr. M'Graw on the evils of free European immigra-

tion. Finally, we appointed a committee of eight to study and formulate the ideas which should govern the formation of a new charter for San Francisco. I was chairman of the committee as well as president of the association and we met weekly for eight months at the house of Alvan Flanders, away out in the western addition to San Francisco, whence I could get home to Oakland only by the midnight boat. Unfortunately Leverson was on that committee and insisted on doing all the work. He invented a charter full of impracticable notions, the result being its rejection by the majority of the committee and by the society, when it reached that body as a minority report. I wrote the majority report which we called an "Alphabet of Principles in Municipal Government" as applicable to San Francisco. This has been thrice republished and used in all three of the charter conventions that have since been held in that city. All three of the charters have contained more or less of these principles, the result being their uniform defeat at popular elections, owing to the vigorous efforts of politicians and political bosses to avoid the ruin that any of these charters would have brought on their infamous business.

But Leverson finally killed the society. Del Mar had left the state after our first year. While he was here our debates generally terminated in a duel between him and Leverson who took opposite sides on nearly every question. After he left, Leverson found no foeman worthy of his steel, and offended so many by his vociferous self-assertion that the membership gradually fell off until only seven persons could be relied upon to attend the meetings. We became discouraged, and knowing the futility of attempting to attract the right kind of minds while he continued to drown the echoes of our meeting room, we one day adjourned the society without day, intending to revive it in another form after a while, and carefully to eliminate Leverson from the new membership. But the new effort was never made. I became too much of a sufferer from eczema to do any running around in the cause, and no one else offered to perform that necessary work. So the hypnotic we administered that night proved a poison. The Pacific Social Science Association slept with its older brothers—children of the same father.

During 1879 I made my fifth visit to the East and greatly enjoyed (so far as my painful disorder would permit) a visit to my parental home and my children settled in eastern cities.

In the spring of 1878, shortly after our return from Honolulu, we found our residence in Knox Cottage no longer desirable.... I bought the new two story frame house on the north side of 13th Street, No. 810, between West and Market, having eleven rooms, and a small lot, 37½ x 100 feet, for $6,250. Here we lived happy and contented (eczema excepted) for four years, then rented it for three years, and finally sold it in 1886 for $4,500.

Myra returned East July 1882 after a year or so in California, and having

spent eighteen months with relatives there, she went to Leipzig, Germany, to complete her music studies and to acquire a knowledge of German. She remained there two and a half years, joining me in Pasadena in 1887. In August 1888 she married William John Taylor, a rising young lawyer of Victoria, B. C., where she now resides.[104]

XXIII.

The reader must now be fatigued with the continual relation of my efforts to improve the world, and I will not trouble him or her much further by such narrations.

In the early part of 1884, acting at the request of the board of trade, chamber of commerce and manufacturers' association, I again tackled the shipping question and prepared a long and elaborate report on several phases of that fruitful theme. It cost $400 to print a large edition of it, a portion whereof went to Congress and part to the state legislature. It contained in supplement a complete list of all existing vessels built on the Pacific Coast—now compiled for the first time. . . .

I was also instrumental in getting the city council to place street signs on the gas lamps throughout the city, which I accomplished through the action of the board of trade. Strange to say, the city had been for eight years without any names on the street corners for the guidance of the public, and nobody seemed to notice the fact but me. The same condition now prevails in nearly all other California cities.

In the Spring of 1885 the condition of the eastern department of the California Insurance Company had become so serious that the directors sent me to Cincinnati with carte blanche to do whatever I found to be necessary to remedy that great mistake in our management. I left home in March, travelled through various states and cities, investigating the field thoroughly, and after six weeks of such work, concluded to apply the pruning knife. . . . I closed out about 900 small agencies, retaining but 108 in the larger cities; re-insured $6,000,000 of risks which were taken by the Phoenix of Brooklyn and probably provided one of the causes which a couple of years later obliged that company to replace its lost capital. . . . Hardly was this important task completed ere I was again attacked by eczema, so severely that my return home through New Orleans and Texas proved a perfect martyrdom. I was scarcely able to attend to business after my return until August, when I decided to give up the attempt and retire to my little ranch in Pasadena where the boom then commencing, required my presence in order to make the most of the rise in property values.

The idea of retirement was not a sudden one. It had long been in my mind. Naturally my interest in the California Insurance Company was parental. I had begotten it 26 years before, had nursed, educated, trained and worked to give it a fortune when of age, besides supplying its stock-

holders with plenty of pocket money all the time. I had seen its capital grow from $20,000 to $600,000 and its business from a small time coasting marine to a world-wide ocean trade, and a fire business all over the United States. Five times, by the exercise of prompt good judgment, I had saved it from bankruptcy or impairment of capital, once by keeping out of Arctic whaling business when the whole fleet were crushed in the ice; again, by suddenly closing the losing marine agency in New York; again, by keeping out of the East, thus escaping all loss by the Chicago and Boston fires; again by backing out of Virginia City just in time to dodge the conflagration of 1875, and finally by getting rid of the losing end of its eastern fire business as above related. My reputation as an underwriter had grown with its growth and strengthened with its strength until it had become known to all first class companies throughout the world; for though there were better specialists in all branches of the business, I was deemed to have a wider, sounder and more thorough knowledge and experience in all its ramifications than any of my confreres. . . . and the directors of the "Old California" though fearing, rather than loving me, generally left me full scope to do what I thought best in other matters than insurance, and had always been satisfied with my labors, for they trusted absolutely to my ability, honesty and good judgment.

So I would naturally not be willing to leave their service until such arrangements had been made as would secure the continued success of the corporation. I have before mentioned L. L. Bromwell. For nine years I trained that bright, active, popular and zealous little gentleman in the duties of my office. For secretary and as a marine specialist I had selected W. H. C. Fowler, who came to me as a mere youth at $60 per month, and during twelve years had worked and studied as no other man on the Pacific Coast had done, to make himself what he now is, the best marine underwriter on the Coast; for cashier we had our faithful S. K. Ballard; for marine surveyor, Captain Hutchings; for city agent, the popular and polished A. C. Donnell; for bookkeepers, Peter Outcalt and James Anderson. We had also several bright young men, such as Marshall A. Newell, young Artemus Fletcher and others, all keenly ambitious to rise in the service of the company. So I have not been much missed in the management, and the increased growth in the volume and quality of the business under the hands of that brilliant body of young men has justified my expectations and fills me with a grandfather's pride in their success.

The directors accepted my resignation in August 1885, to take effect December 31st of that year, giving me leave of absence and paying me $500 per month meanwhile. Mr. [L. L.] Bromwell was elected president in January 1886, and Mr. [W. H. C.] Fowler secretary. Bromwell faithfully paid me for a year my half of the profits of our joint agency of the Union Fire and Marine Insurance Company of New Zealand, when he succeeded

me as sole agent. I resigned my twenty years secretaryship of the Board of Marine Underwriters of San Francisco and my directorship in the Pacific Insurance Union, also my active membership in the Berkeley Club and in the Fire Underwriters Association of the Pacific, being thereupon placed upon the honorary list of both those societies. The mingled feelings of the profession, both fire and marine, towards me now found vent for the first time in something like an unanimous and cordial expression. . . .

Accordingly, on the 31st of July, the 20th anniversary of my first election as secretary of the Board of Marine Underwriters, I was invited to a public collation at the board rooms. Addresses were made in recognition of my services to the profession and the public by Col. C. L. Taylor, G. Touchard, C. D. Haven and many other underwriters, followed by A. S. Hallidie, president of the manufacturers association, W. T. Coleman for the chamber of commerce, and J. B. Stetson, president of the board of trade. My reply was dictated by profound feeling, between which and my physical weakness, I found great difficulty in expressing myself. I nearly broke down while referring to my associates of twenty years ago, only three of whom were present and nearly all the others gone to their final rest. After the reading and adoption of memorial resolutions and the presentation of an elegant service of silver plate, we all adjourned to the lunch table, after which my hand was cordially shaken by every gentleman present (about sixty) in token of farewell and God speed. Such was the culmination of my professional career and the brightest day of my life; for I then received, unsought, the only acknowledgment yet made me for a thousand services previously unnoticed, save by the chamber of commerce on my retirement as its secretary many years before.

NOTES

99. The origin of his book on civics, entitled *A Manual of American Ideas* (San Francisco, 1871, 382 pp.), was described by Hopkins in the preceding issue of this QUARTERLY, pp. 269-70. See also *ibid.*, XXV (June 1946), pp. 100-102, for mention of Hopkins' published writings.

100. By action of the presbytery, the Rev. L. Hamilton was deprived of his pastorate at the First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco because of his unorthodox religious views. His followers built a small church for his use in Oakland on Jefferson Street, between 12th and 13th; but by 1877, owing to the over-theoristic trend of Hamilton's preaching, their enthusiasm and attendance were at a standstill, and, after varying fortunes, the building was taken over by the Unitarian Society in 1888. (Hopkins' Recollections, his chapter XXXVI, which, being largely concerned with family affairs, has been omitted in the present transcription.) The Berkeley Club (named after the early 18th century philosopher, George Berkeley, bishop of Cloyne, whose writings include the verses ending with "Westward the course of empire takes its way . . .") still holds regular sessions, mostly in Berkeley. It might be remarked here that "California Centennials, 1948, 1949, 1950," by Anson Stiles Blake, this QUARTERLY, June 1947, pp. 97-106,

was adapted by the author from a paper he read before the club at one of their Spring 1947 meetings.

101. For discussion of the library of "the publicist, Dr. F. Lieber," and the part played by Michael Reese in its acquisition by the university, see also William Carey Jones, *Illustrated History of the University of California* (San Francisco, 1895), pp. 125, 297, 300.

102. Daniel C. Gilman (term, 1872-75) was preceded as president of the University of California by Henry Durant (1870-72), and was followed by John LeConte (1875-81). Instruction in the state university began on Sept. 23, 1869, in the Oakland buildings of the College of California, the move to the Berkeley site not being made until the graduation of the class of 1873. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 82.

103. Hopkins' daughter, Mellie, was married at Bangor, Maine, on Feb. 21, 1881, to Mr. John B. Varrick of Manchester, N. H.

104. For mention of Mrs. Myra Hopkins Taylor in connection with the publication of her father's recollections, see this QUARTERLY, June 1946, p. 103.

Documentary

WILLIAM McDONALD
Deed to
FRANK WARD
Lot No. 171

KNOW all men by these presents that I William McDonald of the Town of San Francisco territory of Uper [*sic*] California for and in consideration of the sum of One Hundred and thirty seven 50/100 dollars the receipe whereof, I hereby acknowledge, have this day bargained and sold and by these present [*sic*] do bargain sell and quit claim deed unto Frank Ward. his heirs and assigns forever all my right title and interest to a certain and parcel of land, to wit. Lot No. (171) one hundred and seventy one in the Town of Yerba Buena containing fifty Spanish varas square together with all the improvements and appurtenances thereto belonging

In witness whereof I set my hand and affix my seal, this thirty first day of May Eighteen Hundred and forty seven

[SIGNED] William McDonald
Seal

Witness
[SIGNED] George McDougal
Lazarus Everhead
Walter Herron

[On verso:]

Territory of California
District of San Francisco
May 31st 1847

Personally appeared before me William McDonald and acknowledged the foregoing instrument of writing to be his true lawful and voluntary act and deed.

[SIGNED] George Hyde Alcde [*sic*]

[On outside:]

Recorded in the Archives of Land Title in San Francisco Book at Page 119. May 31. 1847

[SIGNED] Wm. C. Buchanan
Municipal clerk

The Second Incumbency of Jacques A. Moerenhout

Translated and Edited
By A. P. Nasatir

(Continued)

XVI[51]

Moerenhout to Minister of Foreign Affairs[52]

Monterey, January 21, 1856

Monsieur le Ministre:

By the last steamer, Don José Castro[53] of this town, former commander-general of Upper California under the Mexican Government, received his appointment as political chief and commander general of Lower California.

Whatever may be the reasons which the present government of Mexico had for naming one of the old chiefs of Upper California to the government of this bordering province, it is probable that it will have only to praise itself for this choice. General Castro lacks neither firmness nor experience; and having passed the last six or seven years in the hard school of adversity, a victim, the same as all of his compatriots, of a systematic and general as well as disavowed spoliation, he has learned to understand the American people and knows what it means when it appears as protectors to defend the liberties, the persons, and the property of the oppressed nations. He was the only one among the Californians who in 1848 declared in writing to the American authorities that he would not accept the title of citizen of the United States which was offered him, and that he wished to remain a Mexican citizen.

I believe then that this nomination has a political importance relatively very great for Mexico. The presence in that country of General Castro and of the Californians who can follow there later will do more to stop inroads or to baffle the attempts of the American filibusters than all the troops which can be sent to a country so destitute of resources.

If it understands well its interests in the difficult position wherein it finds itself with regard to the United States, the Mexican Government must not even confine itself to this nomination alone and for that country alone. There is another man here, Don Juan Alvarado,[54] former governor of Upper California, more capable and even more liked by the Californians than General Castro, who, if he were named to the Government of Sonora, would be followed by the entire California nation, who are only awaiting a favorable occasion to leave *en masse* a country which they love and where formerly

they lived happily, but where since the domination of the Americans they find only disdain, contempt, injustice and persecution.

I shall not repeat here what I have had the honor of saying in preceding despatches regarding the importance of these two provinces, Sonora and Lower California. The Americans think that the latter will some day be for Upper California what the deserts of northern Chili are for this [that] republic; that is, a country rich in silver and copper mines, and which in addition to these metals has pearl and tortoise fishing, inexhaustible deposits of salt, sulphur, etc., as well as numerous and excellent ports on the Gulf and on the Pacific Ocean. As for Sonora, they recognize its importance and know what it will be as soon as it will have a more numerous and energetic population and as soon as the auriferous regions, occupied by the Indians, will be liberated and the work of exploiting the placers and mines will be carried out there, according to the new methods adopted in California and facilitated by great hydraulic work.[55]

One thing more upon which they are counting, or considering as certain, is that the railroad[56] from Texas will be directed from El Paso by an easy and comparatively little longer traced-out route to the town of Altar, in Sonora, and from there to a port very favorably situated to the north of Guaymas, opposite the Island of Tuberones [*sic*] in the Gulf. Although the United States does not possess yet either this country or the Gulf of Cortes, the Americans appear so sure of acquiring them and anticipate, so little, finding opposition to their views and their projects in these countries, that several *maisons d'ici* have made some acquisitions of lands there and expect to settle as soon as the railroad from Texas will have made progress and will approach some newly acquired[57] Mexican provinces.

But I believe the nomination of a Californian to the Government of Sonora will be very difficult or impossible. Forming as it does one of the states of Mexico, the governor and all the civil authorities are named by the inhabitants, which is a thing all the more to be regretted because by this means almost immediately there has been [will be] attracted there a more energetic and numerous enough Spanish population, whose hatred in their hearts for the horrible treatment which they have received from the Americans would make them die rather than to submit again to their domination.

Sonora and Lower California, together with the Gulf which separates them, form an empire and are the only truly important countries which remain in the northern part of Spanish America on this side of the great ocean. More to the south towards the Isthmus of Panama are what the natives themselves call, "Las Tierras Calientes," which, in the sense which they attach to it, can be translated as lands of heat, of marshes, and of maladies; a country which can be rendered productive only by means of slavery or by the introduction of the Chinese people; but where white men of Europe or their descendants of pure blood can neither work in the fields nor expose

themselves to the sun without feeling immediately the terrible effect, or weakening themselves within a short time, in such a manner as to make them lose all their energy and render them incapable of all activity at sustained work.

Accept the respect with which I have the honor of being, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

J. A. Moerenhout
Consul of France

Addressed:
A Son Excellence
Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères à Paris

XVII[58]

Mademoiselle:

I have just seen Monsieur Guizot at the Academy. He told me that he had spoken not only to M. de Lesseps about M. Moerenhout but that he had sent him a detailed note concerning the rights and interests that he deserves.

I took the liberty to talk with him concerning you, Mademoiselle, in order that he would not be astonished if you judge it *à propos* to pay him a visit.

I have the honor of renewing to you the assurance of my respectful and devoted sentiments.

G. de Jussy [?]
[illegible]

Paris, May 2, '56

XVIII[59]

Moerenhout to Minister[60]

Monterey, June 1, 1856

Monsieur le Ministre:

Enclosed I have the honor of remitting to you the duplicates of the following despatches of mine:

First—April 30, 1854, Number seventeen
Second—May 16, 1854, Number nineteen
Third—September 15, 1855, Number twenty-three[61]

Wishing to begin my correspondence again with a new series of numbers with each *Direction* of your department to date from January 1, 1856, the present despatch, the second one which I have had the honor of addressing this year to the *Direction Politique*, will be number two, while the one of the twenty-first of January last instead of number thirty-eight,[62] should be number one.

Accept the respect with which I have the honor of being, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

J. A. Moerenhout
Consul of France

Addressed:
A Son Excellence
Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères à Paris

XIX[63]

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER[64]

Monterey, July 10, 1856

Monsieur le Ministre:

At various times in my preceding communications, I have had the honor of telling Your Excellency of the deplorable state in which California society is found, from the social and political point of view. Several times I have also tried to make known the true causes for the disorders which have characterized the first years of the organization of this state.

Before describing the actual revolution in the town of San Francisco, Your Excellency will permit me, no doubt, to make a preliminary examination of some of the general considerations relative to the events which have led up to it. With a certain characteristic of identity, the causes of this revolution are inherent in the actual organization of almost all the states. This germ, unperceived at first but which gradually develops everywhere, seems to menace all the states and to push them towards disunion, or at least to prepare some notable changes in the institutions which rule them today.[65]

One of the principal causes of the anarchy and of the disorder which is harassing California at this time is certainly due to the bad organization of the judicial administration, an organization which in San Francisco, as well as in the other states, deprives the magistrates of initiative, and submits the affairs of criminal justice to delays and formalities which hinder its action. Thanks to these formalities and to these delays, the incriminated rich or clever can easily assure themselves impunity especially in a country like California, where corruption of the judges who function only for a limited time, and of the jurors, the unscrupulous choice of whom is due only to chance and offers no security to society, [is found].

All these causes, united in rendering odious and derisory the exercise of criminal justice in California, have often provoked summary executions, known by the name of lynch-law, on the part of a people irritated here as well as in a great many other states. The latter have generally invoked them only to make up for the action of the courts, [and] as a safeguard against the almost fathomless corruption of the magistrates and of the public functionaries. Perhaps this was the only means to meet and oppose the powerful and numerous band of malefactors, the audacity of whom was becoming more menacing while they had the assurance of impunity.

Another equally well-attested fact is that since the time the Democratic party has governed almost without control, violence and corruption have been the means of action everywhere and openly, especially in regard to elections. Nevertheless, there is a considration to which I hasten to call the especial attention of Your Excellency. I believe that it has not been sufficiently noticed that this tendency to corruption in all branches of the administration; these habits of violence and fraud in elections; these passions

for revolt and insurrection so widespread today, have become so common [and] so menacing only since the invasion of the Mexican Republic or since the annexation of Texas.

Before the annexation of this beautiful province, the American people appeared to be very much more scrupulous, much more moral, and much nicer in the choice of their public functionaries. Their attentions to that were perceptible everywhere, and easy to ascertain, even among the semi-barbarous populations who first settled in the *Far West* a very long time ago, even with the populations the farthest removed into the interior. They took care to confer the judiciary functions and the administrators only upon the most capable and the best educated men, and of acceptable conduct.

But since the occupation and annexation of this province, not only have violence and disorders signalized everywhere the time of the elections, but immorality has made such progress that one could believe that a wind, charged with corrupting miasmas, had blown upon all classes of American society in the different states, and seems to have spared no one, not even the most serious and solid characters. Doubtlessly Your Excellency will pardon me the use of a figure of speech, out of place perhaps in a statement which I regret not to be able to write more succinctly; but it gives a better idea of the one I am forced, according to my attentive and conscientious observations, to form of American society especially in this country.

The true cause of this moral disaster, so menacing to the future of the United States, is the manner in which Texas was first occupied by the Americans. Everywhere else in the territories conquered from the Indians, or gradually invaded by the Americans, the first emigrants were hunters or farmers. They were a class of men with rude manners, a little savage [*farouche*, shy], but honest workers, used to fatigue. They were the forerunners of civilization, of the true pioneers inducing work and not crime. These men one could legitimately reproach only for some acts of injustice and of cruelty towards the Indians. Also thanks to their love of work, their industry, their perseverance, their spirit of enterprise, they will change in a few years the aspect and the appearance of these deserts, and will turn them into a domain of civilization.

What a difference between this progressive, honest, laborious emigration, and the flood of adventurers who first settled in Texas a long time before the annexation of that province to the Union. The southern states, New York, etc., sent their social scum to this new country. But what especially gave an impulsion to the emigration of these bands of gamblers, bankrupts, thieves, assassins, was the wealth of the Spanish inhabitants, who were at all times the object of the covetousness of these adventurers without faith or law.

Nevertheless, Monsieur le Ministre, that is the nature of the principal elements of the majority who dared to proclaim the independence of this state and then demanded its annexation to the Union. A population almost en-

tirely composed of these corrupt classes of gamblers, professional players, and swindlers, "political loafers," seekers of work, or ringleaders of elections, "shoulder strikers," boxers, who in this country become "bravos," men with revolvers and daggers; formerly barristers, men of law and public functionaries, as corrupt now and as ill-famed as the men to whom they owe their elections. That is also the origin of the administrations which have served as models to the new states, and in the shadow of which the new American society is formed.

I shall not relate here the conduct of these men in regard to the inhabitants of the Mexican race, whom in a few years they reduced to the last shreds of their property, and who were obliged to leave the country or see themselves reduced to servitude. I believe it equally useless to recall here all the disorders to which this rich province remained exposed for a long time, ravaged by bands of criminals, cattle thieves, and assassins who often provoked the application of "lynch law," and the division of the population into two parties called regulators and moderators,[66] who were in open warfare for several years. I only desire to call Your Excellency's attention to a particular point. It was in Texas that the custom was established of proceeding to electoral operations armed and to have recourse to the most criminal means to put unworthy people in power; of committing murders and public assassinations with impunity; of putting votes and justice up to auction and of considering the stealing of public funds as a natural consequence of having obtained the right to handle them.

One of the most fatal consequences of this manner of doing is that it is contagious; has had a pernicious influence on all the states, and has served as a precedent for all analogous circumstances.

Since the year 1846, a multitude of vagabonds without principles, belonging to voluntary groups, invaded California about the same time that New York, New Orleans, and Texas began to hurl there a flood of criminals, the classification of whom even in Texas especially embraced the professions of gamblers, cattle thieves, lawyers, election swindlers, etc., etc. All these people shamelessly treated themselves as judge, major, colonel, general, etc., etc.

The greater part of these people had lived in Texas and understood admirably well how to exploit the ignorance and the credulity of the Spanish inhabitants, or by various means to take from them their money, their cattle, their lands, and even their houses. It was a second edition [repetition] of the history of Texas. This gradual spoliation was more perfidious [in California] than in Texas. It borrowed from justice a certain appearance of legality. Since the year[s] 1846 and 1847, these men have been established in the midst of the Californians, and represent themselves as residents and citizens. They not only stole but had themselves elected, by means with which they were

familiar, to the positions of alcalde, alguacil, or members of the ayuntamiento; titles which they translated by chief justice, sheriff, and members of the municipal council. Once in their curule chairs, even with the simple title of alcalde, they were masters of the fortunes and lives of the unfortunate Californians.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the spoliations, extortions and injustices which these men, of a sort entirely new and peculiar to the United States and who could be called emigrant filibusters, dare to commit in this country.

After the peace with Mexico, the news of the discovery of the placers in California was for these adventurers, as for all the wicked subjects of the large towns of the Union and the thousands of gamblers, swindlers, vicious and corrupt people detached from the troops who had made war with Mexico, the signal of an event which must bring them all to the same scene, there to exercise their various suspicions and dangerous industries and to assemble to a feast of an unheard-of disorder without precedent.

New York, New Orleans, and all the large towns of the Union as well as Texas, sent with the gold seekers also there their unemployed, almost as numerous as the first named [class], their "political loafers," their thieves, their assassins, and cast far and wide towards the shores of the Pacific those who had begun to trouble the surface of their infant society.

If I especially mention this sort of individual, it is not that the other countries have not also furnished their share of adventurers to California; it is only because I bring to Your Excellency's notice that the American wars against Mexico, almost as much as the occupation and annexation of Texas, have considerably increased the number of vicious people, gamblers, immoral and idle [persons] used to evil doing and always dangerous and detrimental wherever they go. All these people, who are of a character dubious at best and becoming more and more numerous in the United States, have been hurled down upon California like a destructive plague. And according to the resources of the placers they almost immediately began to exercise their various suspicions and dangerous industries, so fatal to this country afterwards.

Monsieur le Ministre, here is one of the things worthy of notice. With the exception of a band called "Hounds,"[67] composed only of volunteer licentiates of the American army and who in 1849 and 1850 pursued the Chileans and Mexicans at San Francisco as well as in the mines, there was rarely a theft or a murder at that time. Public security was complete, despite the abandoning of merchandise under sheds, in streets and other public places. In the mines it was the same; stored [*logés*] under cloth tents, neither the miners nor any other person feared either for his life or his property.

(To be continued)

NOTES

51. Correspondance Politique. Sér. États-Unis, Vol. 114, folios 50-51, *verso.*

52. Vice Consulat de France à Monterey No. 38. Direction Politique. This despatch was to be regarded as No. 1 of the new series. See Moerenhout to Minister, No. 2, which is document XVIII in the present translation.

53. Concerning Castro, see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 751-52, and references there given; same author, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas* (San Francisco, 1886-89), II, 725.

54. For data on Juan Bautista Alvarado, see Bancroft, *History of California, op. cit.*, II, 693-94, and references there given.

55. The minerals, resources, etc., of Lower California are discussed by Bancroft in his *History of the North Mexican States . . ., op. cit.*, II, 751-65 *passim.*

56. See Bradley, *loc. cit.*

57. Rippy, *loc. cit.;* Callahan, *op. cit.*, consult index; and Samuel Flagg Bemis, *American Secretaries of State* (New York, 1927-29), VI, 326, 336 ff.

58. Original in Clinton Collection. This document is unaddressed.

59. Correspondance Politique, Sér. États-Unis, Vol. 115, folio 13.

60. Vice Consulat de France à Monterey, No. 2. Direction Politique.

61. Despatch No. 23 is present document XIV. The other despatches are undoubtedly in the Correspondance Consulaire series but they are not available to the public.

62. Despatch No. 38 is present document XVI.

63. Correspondance Politique. Sér. États-Unis, Vol. 115, folios 95-102, *verso.*

64. Vice Consulat de France à Monterey No. 3. Direction Politique.

65. Concerning these conditions, see Mary F. Williams, *History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851* (Berkeley, 1921), pp. 109-59; Bancroft, *History of California,* VI, 740-41; also his *Popular Tribunals* (San Francisco, 1887), I, 76 ff.; Hittell, *op. cit.*, III, 162 ff.

66. Texas, too, had its regulators and moderators. Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals, op. cit.*, I, 17.

67. The activities of the Hounds are described by Bancroft in his *Popular Tribunals,* I, 76-102; and by Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 105-109, 126. See also Patrice Dillon, "La Californie dans les Derniers Mois de 1849," in *Revue des Deux Mondes,* nouv. pér., V, 205-206.

[Correction.—On p. 214, September 1948 Quarterly, notes 34, 39, 43, and 47: *for* Correspondence Politique *read* Correspondance Politique.]

Bound for the Land of Canaan, Ho!

The Diary of Levi Stowell, 1849

Edited by MARCO THORNE

(Continued)

Wednesday, July 18. Trials of 'the "Hounds" going on. Much excitement still. Henry & myself commenced to build a shop,[94] guess I am a pretty good carpenter, first rate in open work. our shanty sorounded by water, spring tides.

Thursday, July 19. McLane stopping with us. got a letter from O.J.P. one from Mary Jane & from S.A.D.—Many thanks for so much, but hope I've still more. no papers yet. great crowd about the P.O. no chance to get near.

Friday, July 20. Court still sitting on the case of Roberts "Lieut of the hounds". Still working on our shop, hard old job in mud & water, up to our knees. a dirty party, no clothes washed for something less than a month. —

Saturday, July 21. Verdict of the jury on Roberts case is guilty of Riot, Robery &c. recommended to mercy & that he be sent on board a Man of war & from thence to the States &c others now on trial.[95] Judge Lynch is about. look out —

LIVING THE BACHELOR LIFE

Upon his return from the mines, Levi Stowell had settled down to his business of carpenter in a city that needed construction work badly. However, after the excitement of his journey to the Pacific coast and his visit to the mining camps, he found life somewhat boring. He began to miss his family. Now, instead of mentioning mere incidents in his diary, we find him writing of his inner thoughts.

Sunday, July 22. No such thing as getting breakfast & washing dishes in time to go to Church. Oh! for a woman. no clean clothes, ragged shirts, no buttons on, O! the inconveniences of keeping old Bach', the church bell, sounds precisely like the Steamboat bell, for should like to go there to day. Alexd Stettinius took dinner with us.

Monday, July 23. I fancy my friends are all laying back, fanning, eating Ice Cream, drinking ice-water &c Just for Grandeur. No occasion here. San Francisco a genuine refrigerator. Keeps all cool & well aired.—

Tuesday, July 24. The march of improvement here is beyond all precedent buildings without number going up, without regard to price of material or Labour. Rents extravagrantly high & hard to get at any price—[96]

Wednesday, July 25. Banks still paying specie dust or bars. Democratic country this [;] every man at home here. one as good as another, black, white, red or what not all saucy, & their pockets full of rocks. Labouring man paid in this country.—

Thursday, July 26. J.H. Nevitt arrived from Sacramento City, glad to

see him [.] Mining news about as former dates. Some getting a little. & some much, but hard work & hot weather [.] Thermometer ranging from 100.° to 112.° rather warm.

Friday, July 27. Nevitt's party digging a Canal turning the river. to dig a bar, look out for a bed of gold. Success to them. some parties gathering gold with quick-silver with considerable success. a great eruption among the beds of the rivers of California.—

Saturday, July 28. Fried Steak for breakfast, stewed Steak for dinner, & warmed steak for supper & hashed Steak for Sunday, Oh for a change, Jack swears, Bill picks out the tender peices, Henry grabs, & all toast bread & I come in for a dividend.—

Sunday, July 29. Writing letters &c &c Jack & Nevitt went to Market & only bought 23. pounds of beef & are roasting it.[97] an extra dinner to day no doubt, pies, pickels &c and a smoky stove, just for pleasure.

Monday, July 30. This evening at Purser— R.M. Price's,[98] the first M[aster]. Masons meeting was held to take the initiatory steps preparatory to establishing a Lodge: a full house &c. commt was appointed to procure a room &c &c. L. S[towell]. Secty [,] Chas Gillman in the Chair.—[99]

Tuesday, July 31. preparing letters for the steamer [.] Wish I was prepared Myself, but I've not got my pile" yet cant go home till we all get a cord; fortunes, or a life in the woods is the Motto. raise a dust when we get home, "Bugs" of course.

Wednesday, August 1. O, ye Fates, to doom one to keep Bachelors Hall, is hard, beyond all endurance. A Kingdom for a woman now. May Kind providence smile upon me soon; for I'm getting in a delapidated condition. am afraid to see the Rag-man[100]

Thursday, August 2. Steamer California off—Steamer left (Califora) bid J. King[101] good bye. he took letters for us all. I wrote to O.J.P. F.S.M.W. L.B.S. Miss Mary J.C., Miss, H.D.A.S. & papers to many others. Success to Mr. King & all his fellow passengers across the Isthmus and safe arrival home.

Friday, August 3. Sent by Mr. King Wm. S. Burch's watch to his father; & a miniature of Miss Mary C. to her, & a note with it. Election over, Geary Alcaldee quite an excitement, all properly conducted.[102] Many arrivals over 200 on the [?] from Boston.

Saturday, August 4. B. Hall & family goes aboared of the S. Carolina to day bound for Washington City with his "Oro" [.] Success attend him. Sent letters to O.J. Preston, all sent. dont like to see so many going home, it makes me sort O want to go too.

Sunday, August 5. W.P.W. & self attended Church at Mr. Merrills.[103] Crowded house, the first opportunity of attending the Episcopal church since I left the U.S. seemed like home again, or rather, caused me to think of home & the contrast, few females only.[104]

Monday, August 6. Sold my pony $250.—got to foot it now.—constant dry weather with heavy fogs, cold disagreeable evening & Mornings dews as bad as rain. Kennedy down from the Mines, & all his party. he concludes to shove the Jack-plane again so we set

Tuesday, August 7. him to work.—O my tender boys, I'm afraid for you, rather far from home, 't'll never do to wilt now. get your spunk up & go your death. The Elephant is in California, you'll all get a sight in good time. look out.

Wednesday, August 8. Looking for our Washington boys Every day (Bruff's party),[105] am fearful something is wrong, time they were here before this. Heaven speed & guide them on their way. Many an anxious father, mother sister & brother. now turn

Thursday, August 9. With hearts full of misgivings, to catch the least tidings that may be wafted from these western shores for those they love are far from home, in a country wild & full of dangers, without age or experience to guide, or friends to

Friday, August 10. counsel them; beset with every manner of temptation, & without the benefits of Society to check the wayward, or its wholesome effects to entice them from the haunts of vice & wretchedness; which abound here in great profusion

Saturday, August 11. Nevitts gone up & we're alone again in our glory, but more especially in the wind & sand getting rather sandy complections all of us. Fleas abound in our Mansion, & in fact throughout the country, one of the Staple productions — sure —

Sunday, August 12. So many dishes to wash, so much to cook, such a dirty house &c I could'nt get to Church in the Morn, went to Church in the afternoon & eve' a full attendance. All kinds of things going on here on Sunday, from the church to the gambling house &c.

Monday, August 13. Business brisk, town full of people.[106] & more coming. a concert at our Hall. two old flutes one accordeon & several voices, sufficient to craze a Bedlamite. Sort of private Amusement

Tuesday, August 14. The Amusements of this place are stay at home, & eat & sleep or, go to a gambling house & see the fashions, the only Public plac of resort at present in this great City of the Pacific—[107]

Wednesday, August 15. As for myself I am content to stay at home & cook, eat, wash dishes & sweep the house &c, &c, lovely employment truly. hope for a change ere' long tho' for one will tire over 'a sameness'

Thursday, August 16. Wish I had a wife. well I do very useful here no mistake 3 months now Keeping old Bach' & not had my bed made up yet have to do it myself before long [.] its getting rather hard & the sand only about 2 inches thick in it &c[108]

Friday, August 17. Not only Sandy complexions all of us, but if we stay here much longer, we shall be sandy all over only about 2 inches

deep on the floor all the time & so much in the beds, its dificult to keep from sliding out, & the fleas Oh! dont say a word.

Saturday, August 18. Steamer Panama arrived this afternoon. D[avid] G. Day found us. verry Much surprised to see him. Mr. Farnham also of Washington. a large number of passengers nearly 400.[109] Letters pr D.G. Day, from O.J.P. G. Powell & Mrs Willet & J.A. Tait

Sunday, August 19. Got a letter from my brother, also. Had not time to go to Church could not get ready, domestic duties would not permit O, ye Gods, when shall we be freed from such burdensome toils

Monday, August 20. "What I've seen in California" is worth something, & the way I've lived in Califra & the work I've done "is some" you may be sure nothing but absolute compu—

Tuesday, August 21. —lsion, would even force me to do it again tho' the novelty of such a life, in a great measure, relieves the burdens arising from the ten thousand inconveniences not to say, destitutions of

Wednesday, August 22. real necessaries, but all sweet & no bitter, can hardly be expected, especially in a new country like this, or rather an old country but new to Americans, to Yankee enterprize. but we'll soon have all these

Thursday, August 23. little nicities & a woman to keep house, for to do without the latter is not bearable, at least so "thinks I to myself" Mr Day makes a right good housekeeper, as well as myself but its out of place—

Friday, August 24. All going home by the way of China, Red Sea &c &c wonder if we will? have to make a few dimes first I reckon, for it will take a few to take that tramp around the world ha! ha!

Saturday, August 25. Worked hard measuring, counting & selling Lumber &c. Waters & myself measured a Musquito wings from tip to tip 2.⅜ in. & legs 5. in[.] rather moderate. think he might drink out of a quart cup easy. send a few east.

Sunday, August 26. This day is well observed at this time, considering the shortness of the time, since we took possession. the Churches well attended & strict order & attention observed at all.—

Monday, August 27. Truly we are an orderly, & law abiding people conscienceious in our scruples & opinions, upon matters of right & wrong[110] Six days is enough to work here in a week—surely — —

Tuesday, August 28. Warm dry weather no dew, occasionally a fog, but a plenty of wind & sand, a constant supply always in circulation &c

Wednesday, August 29. Many preparing to go home by the Steamer wish I was ready myself but cant go yet awhile hav'nt seen all the sights yet nor got all the gold requisite

Thursday, August 30. News from the Mines as for the last 3 months some good & some bad, & thousands constantly coming in all Searchers after riches, success to them all I say.—

Friday, August 31. Finished our letters for the Steamer. Sent letters to O.J.P. with draft for $600.00 one to J. James & papers to several. Money Matters bad before the Steamer leaves. many making remittances home &c.

Saturday, September 1. Commenced tearing down our Bach' Hall, got onto our new house (half of the Shop) & commenced our ware-house.[111] great time betting for pies &c. Kicking up all sorts of noises. snugly fixed considering all things—

Sunday, September 2. Jack made beer, & Bill bottled it. Mince pies & Beer [,] ham. oh No getting rid of sweeping, cooking, washing dishes &c &c D.C.D. takes his turn also—Steamer left this morning early God speed her—and may

Monday, September 3. she bring me some little news from some of my friends, & some papers, got no papers yet, nor do I expect any for a week yet. large bodies moove slow & so do our

Tuesday, September 4. Post Masters here. hope they will improve for it takes them two weeks to assort the mail. Now & dont get papers till the next month. Our harbour looks like N[ew]. Y[ork]. or N[ew]. O[rleans]. a forest of masts.[112]

Wednesday, September 5. Two or three Mints, or refining establishments here now, so we shall have more coin & less dust. I hope, — a very inconient medium of circulation to have to weigh everything you pay out dont like it —[113]

Thursday, September 6. Would have no objections to weigh out a few thousand pounds for my own private use, & then tottle for home reckon I'd find use for it, a few pleasure excursion's should have my special attention.

Friday, September 7. in the shape of Pic Nic's &c. &c. Oh Heavens girls, just wait till I get home, & I'll be with you in all your doings [.] Would give my little finger to go to the Theatre or Museum with some certain Baltimore girls, to night — hush memory — or I'll go mad.

Saturday, September 8. Bowen arrived from Monterey unexpected, & very welcome all glad to see him, tho' not very well, we'll soon get him Straight, good doctors all of us. The masquerade Ball at Denisons to night a failure

Sunday, September 9. for want of ladies, what a pity, not generally a failing where I came from. went to Church twice to day, Baptist[114] & Episcopal, Strolled over the hills, & surprised to see the

Monday, September 10. Many improvements in all directions. Truly she rises like Pheonix from her ashes The growth of San Francisco—is beyond all precedent, & so it should be, for her increase is without a paralell.—

Tuesday, September 11. The hills are being levelled & the vallies filled up; to day a tent, tomorrow an house to day a lake, tomorrow dry land,

"Money makes the man go," & we've got plenty of it here & money makes the City grow.

Wednesday, September 12. Nothing to write of, or about Every day very much alike, the same old thing over & over, wind & sand, & attending to various domestic duties &c &c.

Thursday, September 13. Bowen still in bed afflicted with a bite or something of the kind he does what I call some "tall cursing" no mistake, clever fellow for all. Boys kicked up the d—l every night, sparring &c no such thing as getting 'em up in the morning—

Friday, September 14. The weather is getting more pleasant, the wind Southerly & warm, very much like fall at home, but the foliage, upon the forest trees we miss we see not the sear & yellow leaf. its various hues & tints.

Saturday, September 15. The Ohio left to day for the States. Should like to send a pile with her, but guess I had better Keep it & go myself. Ships & passengers arriving in great numbers.

Sunday, September 16. Met with several Washingtonians Orm, Shepard, Dawes & others think Washington must be nearly vacated. Day & myself went on board the ship Clarissa Perkins & saw M. Wilson rather unwell. all the D.C. boys took tea with us.

Monday, September 17. T. Edwards arrived from the Mines last eve' with $7,000 dug since the 1st July.[115] rained last night. A Steamboat arrived here from Sacramento last eve, the first on our waters.[116] 15 vessels arrd to day

Tuesday, September 18. 14 vessels arrd to day passengers in great numbers Steamer Oregon arrd [.] 412 passengers [.] City full of strangers. weather warm & pleasant Matty Wilson came ashore & stoped with us—poorly

Wednesday, September 19. 68. vessels in the last 4. days streets thronged with new faces.[117] gold hunters. & some satisfied to turn round & go back at once. News from the Mines very good. Mr King & Shoemaker arr' in the Steamer. No Mail.

Thursday, September 20. All disappointed again at receiving no mails, May the Fates decree it otherwise for time to come, for it appears there is no remedy, I bid $10. for a letter to day, but no use. the prayers (or the curses) of the wicked availeth

Friday, September 21. nothing, else the Steamers—would long since have been sunk [.] The Andalusia in to day, & some others, the cry is "still they come"—Mr. Wilson still sick, very weak. D. Jones attending. Bowen nearly well

Saturday, September 22. San Francisco the place of places, a real Broadway in appearance. Men as thick as hail, all driving ahead at something but of all driving, the driving of the Jackplane beats all, & nothing to be heard

but the hammer, hatchet & saw, onward she goes, & must go, from a few huts, in six month it has become quite a city, and

Sunday, September 23. she has such an imptus now, nothing can stop or retard her progress; the untiring industry & perseverance of the Yankee Nation is fairly at work here & when that stops the world stops, sure, for its abroad everywhere, the great fear is, they'll have no new place to go to for I believe they are in every quater of the Globe—& all making money.

Monday, September 24. Chinese here a plenty, they too, must come to California. . . . come on ye Celestials, room for all. We'll soon penetrate your pent up country, return the favour.

Tuesday, September 25. Steamer fast filling up with passengers, those who have got their pile & going home, success to them, & also some who have spent all, & satisfied to go back

Wednesday, September 26. The Convention is busy in framing our New Constitution.[118] some little party affairs are visible in some of their movements [.] We will knock loudly at

Thursday, September 27. the door of Uncle Sam for Admission into the Union, & unless they ask us in, why, we'll go on our own hook, & no thanks to no one, we've got the dimes to pay our

Friday, September 28. way, & the "Banks liberal" in their isues & good all over the world, may they continue in like good credit for some time to come, a specie basis, good always.

Saturday, September 29. Pay day, & its "some punkins," to pay off ten or 20. men here, for nothing less than a back load, does a man for weeks work here, & to count small money is voracious—

Sunday, September 30. Sent by T. Edwards per Steamer Oregon papers & letters to O.J.P., Jas. A. Tait Miss Lizzie & Amanda. 2nd part of dft to O.J.P. $600.—papers to Jones O.J.P., P.D.—F. Albertson. M.D. Tracy &c. beautiful weather, lovely nights warm & moonlight.

Monday, October 1. Sunday is a Luxury here for a more tiresome & vexatious place to do business in, never was. to wade through the sand up & down the beach in search of materials, is perfectly awful.

Tuesday, October 2. It is easier to keep 50 men at work in the Cities at home, than to keep t[w]o men agoing here, & so uncertain are men here that one day you have more than you want & next, none

Wednesday, October 3. Off to the mines or, see some thing else better, & away they go, no dependence to be put in any, all for themselves in California, all right, make hay whilst the "sun shines"

Thursday, October 4. Great anxiety for the arr' of the Steamer, false reports of her having arr' every day heaven speed her, not without the Mails tho'. Nothing heard as yet from Bruff's party, hope

Friday, October 5. they are in good diggins some-Where, very warm,

& pleasant evenings. Very glad to hear that Pueblo [San Jose] is the Capital, go[t] some lots there, hurrah![119] a beautiful place for the seat

Saturday, October 6. of Government, run about getting lumber, money, &c dust a flying at a thick rate. Jack, very much annoy'd by the fleas, & Henry more so they declare them large & awfully voracious, & very fond of

(To be concluded)

NOTES

94. Williams claimed to have built the first carpenter shop in San Francisco. H. F. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

95. Roberts and another Hounds leader, George Saunders, were sentenced to 10 years at hard labor and the others were given various sentences. Eventually all the men escaped or were sent out of the country and the sentences were never carried out. McAllister, *loc. cit.;* Soulé *et al, op. cit.*, pp. 559-60; S. R. Geary, "Statement," in *Miscellaneous Statements on California History* (MS in B.L.), p. 5.

96. Examples of the then-existing rents were the Parker House estimated at from $110,000 to $175,000 per year; the canvas-covered "Eldorado" at $40,000 a year; a small bank building on the plaza rented at $75,000; lodging rooms at $100 a month; some houses for $300 a month, and the rates at the City Hotel were $25 a week, two beds in a room (meals, $20 a week additional). E. A. White, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-58; Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33; Soulé *et al, op. cit.*, pp. 253-54; Buffum, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

97. Beef was plentiful in San Francisco at that time. Fairchild, writing of July 1849, said that the Americans had no respect for the great herds of the Peralta and Castro families in Contra Costa county, which were raided from time to time; and many a fine beef, hung in a shop in San Francisco, had been butchered without the owner's consent. Mahlon D. Fairchild, "Reminiscences of a 'Forty-Niner'," this QUARTERLY, XIII (1934), 11.

98. New Jersey-born Rodman M. Price (1818) entered the navy in 1840 after studying at Princeton. He served under Commodore Sloat in California during the Mexican War, becoming a purser. *First SS Pioneers*, p. 356; *Calif. Masonry*, I, 38.

99. Charles Gilman, born in New Hampshire in 1793, had been grand master of the Masons in his native state in 1830 and held the same office in Maryland from 1842 to 1848. In San Francisco he was a law partner of Col. J. D. Stevenson, former commander of the New York Volunteers. *Ibid.*, I, 39.

100. Among the privations endured by early California bachelors was: "To induce some of the few women that are here to condescend to wash their linen for them, they have to court them besides paying six dollars a dozen." F. P. Wierzbicki, *California As It Is & As It May Be...* (San Francisco, 1933), p. 68.

101. James King was listed as a passenger on the steamer *California* sailing that day. *Alta California*, Aug. 2, 1849.

102. John Geary, born in Pennsylvania, studied civil engineering at Jefferson College in that state. During the Mexican War he served under Gen. Winfield Scott at Vera Cruz and elsewhere. Later he became colonel of his regiment. On Jan. 22, 1849, he was made postmaster of San Francisco by President Polk. He arrived in San Francisco on the last day of March 1849 on the *SS Oregon*. When O. P. Sutton and William Van Voorhies returned from the mines, they and Geary formed a company dealing in general merchandise, with headquarters on Montgomery between Jackson and Wash-

ington. McAllister, *loc. cit.*; Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, pp. 221, 228-29, 719-23; *Calif. Masonry*, I, 38; Sutton, *op. cit.*, p. 6; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 212 ff.

103. J. H. Merrill had been in San Francisco since 1847 where he had started a Methodist Sunday school. Ferrier, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

104. Mrs. M. A. Tibbey mentioned that the first Sunday after August 1st she attended church and "the men . . . were unshaven and very rough in appearance, but when they found there were women and children there, on the next Sunday, they were transformed into gentlemen, with white shirts and kid gloves, as fine as could be." Mrs. M. A. Tibbey, Statement, in "Miscellaneous Statements on California History" (MS in B. L.), p. 20.

105. Bruff's party was a group of about 65 men, known officially as the "Washington City and California Mining Association," under the leadership of Joseph Goldsborough Bruff. Their uniform consisted of "a short gray frock coat, single-breasted, with gilt eagle buttons; pantaloons the same color, with black stripe; glazed forage-cap, with the initials in front, W. C. C. M. A." The party left Washington April 2, 1849, for the overland trip to California. *Nat'l Intelligencer*, March 30, 1849; *ibid.*, April 2, 1849. An account of the Bruff-party migration is found in Georgia W. Read and Ruth Gaines, editors, *Gold Rush, The Journals, Drawings, and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff* (New York, 1944).

106. In the middle of August, Bayard Taylor found 6,000 people in San Francisco. "It was calculated that the town increased daily by fifteen to thirty houses. . . ." Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 59. George Baker upon returning after an absence of nearly two months, said that the town had doubled in size. G. H. Baker, "Records of a California Residence," *Quarterly*, Soc. Calif. Pioneers, VIII, 51.

107. Variations on the theme of saloons may be found in James O'Meara, "San Francisco in Early Days," *Overland Monthly*, 2d ser., I, 131; Sutton, *op. cit.*, p. 10; G. Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Dillon placed the number of gambling places at this time at about 100 ". . . where pressing and elbowing each night are a throng of Sandwich Island, mullato, Chinese, Malay vagabonds, and adventurers from all countries. . . ." Patrice Dillon, "La Californie dans les Derniers Mois de 1849," *Revue des Deux Mondes, nouvelle période*, V (1850), 198.

108. As to the wind-driven sand in San Francisco, see Stephen L. and James E. Fowler, "Journal of Stephen L. & James E. Fowler of East Hampton, Long Island" (typed transcript from MS in B. L.), p. 13.

109. Knower, who arrived on the *Panama* this day, said that the demand for passage was so great at Panama City that the agents of the steamship line used lotteries to determine who should get passage. Daniel Knower, *The Adventures of a Forty-Niner . . .* (Albany, N. Y., 1894), pp. 37-38.

110. Fay observed that "People were careless about their goods, leaving them on the sidewalks, or without being under lock and key, and seemingly perfectly safe. . . ." Caleb T. Fay, "Statement of Historical Facts on California" (MS in B. L.), p. 2. According to Baker, "A perfect confidence seemed to exist between men, there being little inducement to dishonesty, money being plenty. . . ." Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

111. Williams stated that he put up a building, 30′ x 60′, and rented it to the auction firm of Paine & Sherwood in the fall of 1849. H. F. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

112. For estimates of the number of ships, see Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 51; White, *op. cit.*, p. 46, and Joseph W. Winans, "Statement of Recollections . . ." (MS in B. L.), p. 4.

113. Because of the lack of sufficient coinage to match the new wealth of gold in California, men used unminted gold to pay their bills. Private mints were finally established in 1849 by David Broderick and Fred Kohler, who opened an assayers office in the City Hotel Building and coined $50, $10 and $5 pieces; a firm in Benicia made $5 pieces, and gold coins were struck off by Theodore Dubosq. The latter two outfits

supposedly started around May of 1849. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78; *Alta California*, Dec. 7, 1864, quoted in Edgar Adams, *Private Gold Coinage of California, 1849-55* ... (Brooklyn, N. Y., 1913), p. 60; Teggart, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-94; Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 71.

114. Rev. O. C. Wheeler's church was finally erected during the middle of the year. G. W. Meacham built the structure, a crude frame building 30′ x 50′, which cost $6,000. It was covered with unplaned clapboards and had a roof made of the foresails of an abandoned brig in the harbor. Ferrier, *op. cit.*, p. 30-33; *First SS Pioneers*, p. 190; Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, pp. 692-93; "Copies from Home Mission Record" (transcript in B. L.), p. 1.

115. T. Edwards, the sick sailor that Stowell and Williams had befriended at Panama (see this QUARTERLY, March 1948, pp. 38, 48) went to the mines after working his passage to California. He "... returned to city on the 16th day of September with $7000 in gold which he had dug out from the first of July up to that time. He brought it to us, and said, 'You can take all you want of it.' Of course, we didn't take a cent, but it shows the California generosity." Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

116. The boat Stowell mentions is difficult to identify; but see possible solutions in J. H. Kemble, "The First Steam Vessel to Navigate San Francisco Bay," this QUARTERLY, XIV (June 1935), 143-46; Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, p. 235; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 131-32.

117. "On the 14th & 15th of September '49 there were 24 arrivals of vessels, on the 16th 10 more bringing 1400 hundred passengers, among them 73 English women direct from England. On the 18th, the Oregon arrived again, on the 19th thousands of strangers were in town, all accommodations overrun." Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

118. For some first-hand accounts of the constitutional convention, see Willey, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-34; Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-68.

119. Stowell, Williams, Joyce, and Waters bought two lots in San Jose of 50 varas each from Jacob W. and Ann Eliza Harlan. The Harlans, in turn, had bought the land from John Whisman on March 17, 1849. The price that Stowell and the three other men paid for the property was $1,500. The deed was formally entered on October 17, 1849. *Deeds*, Records of the County Recorder's Office, Santa Clara County, California, Vol. A, p. 34.

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

BANCROFT, PHILIP

Hubert Howe Bancroft, an Address by his son Philip Bancroft at the Grove of the Turning Leaves, The Family Farm, September Fifth, 1948. Privately Printed by Paul Bancroft for his Fellow Club Members of The Family and for "The Friends of the Bancroft Library." San Francisco, September 1948. [21] p.

BIDWELL, JOHN

In California Before the Gold Rush, with a foreword by Lindley Bynum. Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1948. 111 pp. illus. $3.75.

BOLTON, HERBERT EUGENE

Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta, translated and edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton. [2d Edition.] Berkeley, University of California Press, 1948. 2 v. in 1, 708 pp. $10.00.

BUELL, ROBERT KINGERY

California Stepping-Stones [a History for Young Californians]. Stanford University, California, Stanford University Press, 1948. 238 pp. Illus. $3.00.

CAUGHEY, JOHN WALTON

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HELPER, HINTON

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ISBELL, F. A.

Mining and Hunting in the Far West, 1852-1870, with an introduction by Nathan Van Patten. Burlingame, California, William P. Wreden, 1948. 36 pp. $6.50. (Greenwood Press.)

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MANSFIELD, GEORGE C.

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NADEAU, REMI A.

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O'BRIEN, ROBERT

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ROBINSON, W. W.

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TAVENNER, BLAIR
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THOMPSON, JAMES ALDEN
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VAN NOSTRAND, JEANNE AND EDITH COULTER
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Historic Names, Persons, and Places in Santa Clara County. n.p., 1948. 42 pp. illus. $.75.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

August 1, 1948 to October 31, 1948

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. RICHARD BALDWIN—Macondray & Co., Inc., *1848-1948, a Chronicle of One Hundred Years.* [Los Angeles, 1948.]

From MR. PAUL BANCROFT—*Hubert Howe Bancroft, an Address by His Son Philip Bancroft at the Grove of the Turning Leaves, the Family Farm, September Fifth, 1948.* San Francisco, Paul Bancroft, 1948.

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From MR. NATHANIEL BLAISDELL—*Songs of the University Club.* San Francisco, 1947.

From MR. SOL BLOOM—*The Autobiography of Sol Bloom.* New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1948.

From MRS. MAE HELENE BACON BOGGS—Dana, Julian, *A. P. Giannini, Giant in the West.* New York, Prentice-Hall, 1947.

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From MR. CLARENCE CULLIMORE—His: *Santa Barbara Adobes.* Bakersfield, Santa Barbara Book Publishing Company, c1948.

From MRS. FRANCIS H. DAVIS—Soulé, Frank, *Annals of San Francisco.* New York, Appleton, 1855.

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From MR. W. H. HUTCHINSON–His: *A Note Book of the Old West.* Chico, Calif., Bob Hurst for the Author, c1947.

From MR. FRANK M. JORDAN–Jordan, Frank M., comp., *California The Golden State.* Sacramento, Calif., State Print. Off., 1948.

From ALFRED A. KNOPF, INC.–Royce, Josiah, *California: From The Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco; A Study of American Character, Introduction by Robert Glass Cleland.* New York, A. A. Knopf, 1948.

From ALEXANDER T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.–Lanterman, Frank, *The Story of La Cañada.* La Cañada, J. H. Button, 1948.

From MISS ANNE MARTIN–Her: *The Story of the Nevada Equal Suffrage Campaign, Memoirs of Anne Martin, Edited with Introduction and Notes by Austin E. Hutcheson.* University of Nevada Bulletin, v. 42, no. 7, August 1948.

From the ESTATE OF MISS CONSTANCE A. MEEKS–*The Occident, v. 6 no. 11, March 20, 1884.* Berkeley, University of California. *The New Calaveras Cave, Murphys, Calaveras County, Calif., Description and guide.* San Francisco, Bacon and Co., 1887. Barry, T. A. and Patten, B. A., *Men and Memories of San Francisco in the "Spring of '50."* San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft and Co., 1873.

From RICHMOND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE–*Gold Rush Centennial Souvenir Year Book.* Richmond, 1948.

From MR. SIDNEY L. SCHWARTZ–*The Sutro Story.* San Francisco, Sutro & Co., 1948.

From THE SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS–Their: *Centennial Roster, Commemorative Edition by Walter C. Allen.* [San Francisco.] The Society, 1948.

From STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS–Buell, Robert Kingery. *California Stepping-Stones.* Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1948.

From MRS. E. C. SUTLIFFE–*The Elite Directory for San Francisco and Oakland.* San Francisco, 1879.

From MR. BENJAMIN H. SWIG–*The Proceedings of the Bostonian Society Annual Meeting, January 20, 1948.*

From MR. JAMES ALDEN THOMPSON–His: *The Scenes of My Childhood.* Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1948.

From MR. GEORGE HEALEY TONDEL–Clark, Stephen C., *The Diocese of Los Angeles, a Brief History.* Los Angeles, Committee on Diocesan Anniversaries, 1945. Community Arts Association of Santa Barbara, *Old Adobes of Santa Barbara, Spanish, Mexican, and Early American Periods, 1782-1858.* Santa Barbara, The Association, 1947.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER–Wilson, Carol Green, *California Yankee, William R. Staats–Business Pioneer.* Claremont, Calif., Saunders Press, 1946; Brinton, Crane, *From Many, One: The Process of Political Integration; The Problem of World Government.* Cambridge, 1948; Meek, Stephen Hall, *The Autobiography of a Mountain Man, 1805-1889, Introduction and notes by Arthur Woodward.* Pasadena, 1948; *Scripps College Bulletin,* v. 22, no. 2, February 1948. *Huntington Library Quarterly,* v. 21, no. 3, May 1948; Edwards, E. I. and Williams, Frank, *A Hundred and One Grabhorns.* Los Angeles [1948].

From MR. CARL I. WHEAT–His: *The Pioneer Press of California.* Oakland, Biobooks, 1948.

From MR. RICHARD COKE WOOD–His: *Murphys; Queen of the Sierra; a History of Murphys, Calaveras County, California.* Angels Camp, Calaveras, Calif. [1948].

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MR. ERNEST ANTROBUS--*Scoop, Yearbook*. San Francisco, Press Club of San Francisco, 1948.

From MR. ALLEN L. CHICKERING—*Arthur McEwen's Letter*, February 17, 1894-June 15, 1895.

From ALEXANDER T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.–Five San Francisco Newspapers for August 3, 1923, announcing the death of President Warren G. Harding.

From MR. HOBART M. LOVETT–Thirteen numbers of the *University of California Magazine Monthly*. Berkeley, 1895-1903.

From MR. D. S. RICHTER—*The Bulletin*, San Francisco, July 4, 1907.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MR. NATHAN A. BOWERS—A letter from Mrs. Charles H. Bowers concerning the history of the Bowers Family.

From the ESTATE OF MISS CONSTANCE A. MEEKS—A collection of Meeks Family miscellaneous papers and documents relating to the history of San Francisco and the East Bay. Stock certificates, mining claims, receipts, correspondence, papers pertaining to tenants, lawsuits, land claims, court summons and trials, cemeteries, indentures, mortgages, notes, and personal account books.

From MRS. CLARA A. NEALON–Eight letters from Stephen L. Culverwell to his mother, 1851-1868.

From MR. W. STANLEY PEARCE–His: *A Sketch of the Early History of Holy Trinity Church* [San Mateo]. Typed manuscript.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MR. HARRY W. ABRAHAMS–Daguerreotype by R. N. Vance of Henry J. Isaacs, Mr. Abraham's grandfather.

From CALIFORNIA JOCKEY CLUB–Two photographs of the Bay Meadows Race Course.

From MR. HOWARD FREEMAN–Three photographs of Golden Gate Fields.

From MISS LOUISE B. HOBSON–Nine photographs: Five views of Los Angeles 1870-80; Devil's Canyon, Pasadena; Bradley and Rulofson's 1776 Centennial Group; Central Pacific R. R. crossing the Sierra Nevadas about 1870-80; Bridal Veil Falls, Yosemite Valley 1870-80.

From MR. LAWTON R. KENNEDY–Photograph of Forest Home Inn.

From the ESTATE OF MISS CONSTANCE A. MEEKS–Map of Oakland and vicinity by William J. Dingel ca.1890? and Perspective view of Berkeley.

From MR. EDWARD O'DAY–Portrait of George Sterling, by Douglas Crane.

From MRS. CLARENCE SHUEY–Two pictures of California Historical Society Pilgrimage to the Portola site at Sweeney Ridge, September 16, 1948.

From MISS EDITH SLACK—*Atlas of the City and County of San Francisco*. Philadelphia, W. P. Humphreys & Co., 1876.

From MR. GEORGE HEALY TONDEL—*Centennial Vignettes*. Cartoons by Murray Olderman, reprinted from the McClatchy newspapers of California.

From MR. VALLEJO GANTNER–Photograph of Salvador Vallejo.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. HARRY W. ABRAHAMS–Nails found above the Donner Summit railroad tunnel shaft in August 1948; Chinese porcelain found above the Donner Summit tunnel shaft in August 1948. These artifacts were probably left there by the Chinese working on the construction of the railroad.

From MR. J. P. HUTCHINS—A leather watch fob decorated with gold nugget eagle (jeweled with rubies and sapphires), tomahawk, and flint arrowhead inscribed.

From MR. ABRAHAM KAMBER—Clippings about Gertrude Atherton.

From MRS. W. F. KELLY—Miscellaneous clippings about California pioneers.

From MR. THEODORE E. MERRITT—Miscellaneous collection of clippings about San Francisco people and the Bay Area.

From MRS. CLARA A. NEALON—Anonymous cash book, Siskiyou County, 1853-54; Blank check, Cram, Rogers & Co.'s, 1857; Way bills, California and Oregon United States Mail Line, 1867; Bills and documents, Siskiyou County, 1854-61; Accounts and notes, Yreka, 1857-60.

From MISS EDITH NELSON—Photograph of Stadium at Golden Gate Park; Miscellaneous collection of invitations, report cards, and graduation certificates; Daguerreotype of the John M. Nelson and McDonald families.

From MR. IGNATIUS NELSON—Badge, Mission Dolores Centennial, 1776-1876.

From MRS. THOMAS M. SHEPHERD—Collection of materials relating to music in California from the Estate of Miss Estelle Carpenter.

From MRS. E. C. SUTLIFFE—Program: Panama-Pacific Historical Congress, July 19-23, 1915. [n.p., 1915.]

A particularly valuable gift has been made to the Society by Mrs. Thomas B. Eastland. The gift includes the *Diary of Joseph G. Eastland* begun at New Orleans in 1846; a *Journal of an Expedition to California in 1849* from Nashville, Tenn., via New Orleans, El Paso, Mazatlan, San Diego, and Monterey, to San Francisco; and seventy letters of Joseph G. and Thomas B. Eastland written to their families describing a trip to and life in California from 1849-1853. These manuscripts, published in part in the QUARTERLY during 1939, have been on loan to the Society for the past seventeen years, and we are grateful to Mrs. Eastland for placing them permanently in the collection.

Book of Memories

In memory of the following, contributions to the Library Fund have been received, and their names will be entered in the Book of Memories, preserved in the Society's archives:

Mrs. H. Spens Black
Edwin T. Blake
William C. Latham
M. Hall McAllister
Mrs. Ruby McCormick
F. J. Morin
Judge Frank M. Ogden
Mrs. E. O. C. Ord
Mrs. George A. Pope
George A. Pope
Edward J. Sheppard
Mrs. Leslie W. Symmes

Meetings

The pilgrimage made by some 50 members of the California Historical Society to Sweeney Ridge last week was impressive almost as much for the machinelike precision of its movement as it was for the zeal and interest of the pilgrims.

The gentleman responsible for this was Dr. A. T. Leonard, Jr., a director of the Society and chairman of the Portola Festival's history committee. Dr. Leonard, a brisk man with a ready sense of humor, had attended to all the details, even to the ordering of the box lunches and the drafting of the program for the afternoon.

First entry on the program read as crisply as a military communique: "12:30 p. m.—Having assembled at the junction of the Skyline Boulevard and the Millbrae Road, San Mateo County, we proceed, led by George J. Davis, to the west end of the San Andreas Dam, where we halt for lunch."

Some time prior to the approaching moment of take-off, Dr. Leonard and the driver of the lead car must have synchronized watches, for at precisely 12:30 p. m., that is precisely what we did, winding along the dusty road over San Francisco Water Department land in a slow motorcade of perhaps 25 cars.

We were on our way to visit the spot which historians have selected as the one from which Portola and his entire expedition saw San Francisco Bay for the first time; and it was during the box luncheon at the dam that I heard the only mention of the recent controversy between Millbrae and San Carlos as to which community fell the honor of including within its limits the hill from which Portola first saw the bay.

Two elderly ladies were standing beside an incinerator on whose lid rested a small model of the redwood-log monument which the San Mateo County Historical Society hopes to place on the hilltop. "We are obviously in Millbrae territory," one of them said. "How could anyone possibly say Portola saw the bay from San Carlos?"

Her companion took a bite of her chicken salad sandwich. "That," she replied, "is a distortion of history produced by the wishful thinking of a real estate man. Of course," she added with a gay laugh, "it could have been foggy when Portola reached Sweeney Ridge, and stayed foggy till he reached San Carlos."

At 1:45 sharp, Dr. Leonard cried, " 'Bo-ard!" and the cars moved forward once more, again led by George J. Davis, who is superintendent of the Water Department's Peninsula Division. After a twisting, uphill drive of 15 minutes, the cars reached the bare summit of the ridge, disturbing as they did so a small herd of young steers which had watched our approach with ears alert and a thoughtful look in their eyes.

As we got out of the cars, a few drops of rain fell from the overcast sky. A cold breeze blew from the Pacific, which you could see lying sullen and gunmetal gray beyond the cottages of Pedro Valley and Point San Pedro. To the south rose the barren Montara ridge. It had that afternoon a peculiarly bleak and austere aspect, looking down on us as if we were all intruders and had no business there.

While we pilgrims listened, in a semicircle before him, Dr. Frank M. Stanger, a teacher of history at San Mateo Junior College and a leading authority on San Mateo County history, stood beside a thistle and briefly reviewed the aims and itinerary of the Portola expedition.

Reaching the part associated with the ground on which we were gathered, he reminded us that Portola's base camp for a few days was over there, near Pedro Valley. Ortega's scouting expedition set out from there November 1, 1769, and perhaps that day he was the first white man to see the bay. If he were, we do not know it. Portola's deer hunters (as I've mentioned in this series*) definitely did see the bay November 2 and reported their discovery to Portola on their return to camp that night; but the point from which they saw it is unknown.

On November 4, Dr. Stanger continued, Portola broke camp and proceeded up the beach to the ridge which separates Pedro Valley from Rockaway. Then the expedition turned to the northeast, to cross the Peninsula, and followed the back of that ridge to the very spot on which we stood, which was due west of Millbrae about half way between the bay and the sea.

"I have been over the terrain on foot, in a jeep and in a plane," said Dr. Stanger, "and I am convinced they could have come no other way.

"Now," he concluded, "we shall imagine ourselves the Portola party. We're on their trail. We'll follow their trail to the top of the hill, where all of them first saw San Francisco Bay."

A little burst of handclaps, flat on the open air and the breeze, followed his ringing close, and the group broke up and spread out. The steers, which had been shooed away by an official of some kind with a badge and a holstered pistol, stood a few hundred yards away and watched us as we walked the hundred yards or so through the grass and the buckbrush to the eastern rim of the hilltop.

Far below us in San Andreas Valley was man-made San Andreas Lake, a small creek when Portola saw it. Beyond the hill that formed the eastern wall of the valley stretched the broad panorama of the central Peninsula shoreline—South San Francisco, San Bruno, the airport, Millbrae and the towns to the south, encompassing within the 15- or 20-mile range of vision a machine-age life and industry that Portola could no more have imagined than we, standing there, could imagine that landscape a total wilderness, un-

*The above is Part V in the series. [Ed.]

peopled except for the deer and a few savages whose smokes rose from their rude settlements.

The pilgrims for the most part were silent, lost no doubt in thoughts of the changes wrought by the passing of 179 years.

It was chilly. In the distance the bay was unfriendly and dark. After a few minutes, we pilgrims turned away and returned to our cars. On the dot of 2:30, the scheduled time of departure, Dr. Leonard once more shouted a hearty, "'Bo-ard!" The cars started up, and in single file we drove away, leaving the historic hilltop to gloomy Montara and the wondering cattle.

ROBERT O'BRIEN

From Mr. O'Brien's column "Riptides," September 22, 1948, by kind permission of the San Francisco *Chronicle*.

Col. Fred B. Rogers spoke at the luncheon meeting on October 14, 1948, on the subject, "Early Military Posts of Mendocino County, California," illustrating his talk with a specially prepared map and numerous illustrations not appearing in his article on the same subject in the September 1948 issue of this QUARTERLY.

Outlining his plan of covering in separate articles the early military posts of northern California, Colonel Rogers made a plea that, as their locations are accurately established by documented researches, the marking of California's early posts should be provided for. He named as his present projects an article on the posts of Humboldt County, a biography of Capt. Henry L. Ford of the Bear Flag episode, and a list of the members of the ten companies comprising Frémont's California Battalion of 1846-47. Colonel Rogers concluded with a request for information as to the location of uncommon material relating to any of these subjects.

In Memoriam

Harriot West Jackson

Mrs. Harriot West Jackson, a beloved woman and useful citizen, died at her home in Stockton, California, on April 12, 1948, at the age of ninety. As her ninety-year span lacked only a decade of being identical with the period elapsed since the founding of her birthplace, Stockton, her personal history assumes much of the importance of civic history.

Mrs. Jackson was one of two children born to George and Ellen West in the El Pinal section of Stockton, just north of the city limits. Her father, George West, who was viticultural commissioner of California 1880-91, and her uncle, W. B. West, were founders of the widely famous El Pinal vineyard, their vines originating from fifty cuttings furnished by Capt. Charles M. Weber, founder of the city.

Mrs. Jackson attended the public schools and was graduated from the Stockton high school. In 1905 she married Charles M. Jackson, a well-known merchant of Stockton, who died several years ago. During her long life her support was given generously to education, in particular to the College of the Pacific, of which she was a member of the board of trustees; she held membership also on the board of the Pioneer Museum and Art Gallery. From her interest in our natural resources she became one of the main movers in the campaign which resulted in the raising of the necessary money for the purchase of the Calaveras Grove of Big Trees and she gave liberally to the Save-the-Redwoods League. In matters of public welfare her sympathy and financial aid went out to the Red Cross, the Community Chest, and the San Joaquin Tuberculosis and Health Association. She was active in the Unitarian Church, was a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and had been a member of the California Historical Society since 1941. In all these educational, civic, and innumerable other organizations Harriot West Jackson was zealous, anxious to share her time as well as her beautiful home, which became a gathering place for those similarly concerned. It is not to be wondered that the community where she lived reflects, and will reflect for many years, her active and vital participation in its advancement.

Irving Martin

New Members

Name	Place	Proposed by
	Active	
Harry W. Abrahams	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Mrs. Walter M. Bayer	Oakland	Membership Committee
Mrs. Tobin Clark	San Mateo	Membership Committee
Mrs. Stuart Coffing	North Sacramento	Membership Committee
Hon. William Denman	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Dwight Franklin	Santa Monica	Membership Committee
Mrs. Frank W. Fuller, Jr.	Burlingame	Porter Sesnon
Nicholas S. Firfires	Santa Margarita	Membership Committee
A. Russell Galloway, Jr.	Sacramento	Arthur C. Devlin
Maj. John S. Harmstead	San Francisco	John Howell
Mrs. Milton Johansen	Alameda	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Los Angeles State College Library	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Harry J. McClean	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Holbrook T. Mitchell	San Francisco	John Howell
Edward Morrill	Boston	Membership Committee
Miss Carmel Riley	Berkeley	Membership Committee
Harrison C. Ryker	Oakland	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Mrs. E. R. Shipp	San Francisco	Miss Lottie G. Woods
Miss Esther R. Sullivan	Marysville	Membership Committee
Mrs. L. H. Tryon	Sonoma	Warren R. Howell
University of Utah Library	Salt Lake City	Membership Committee
G. A. Werner	Stockton	Rockwell D. Hunt
Lewis N. Wiggins	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
William W. Winn	Oakland	Ralph H. Cross

Marginalia

Notes on authors in this issue:

A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., whose father (a graduate of the University of Edinburgh) was chief surgeon at St. Mary's Hospital in San Francisco for over twenty years, is a native of San Francisco and has been a director of this Society since 1932. Previous to receiving his medical degree at the University of Southern California in 1920, Dr. Leonard studied at the University of Santa Clara (A.B., 1910), at the state university (B.Sc., 1911), and at Stanford. His recorded family connections with early California date from February 2, 1857, when his maternal grandfather, William McGill Barry, an arrival of 1853, assumed the chair of achitecture and drawing at St. Ignatius College. (See Father J. W. Riordan, S.J., *The First Half Century* . . ., San Francisco, 1905, p. 83.)

H. F. Raup, author of what he terms a "summary" of our knowledge on the delay in discovering San Francisco Bay, is professor of geography and chairman of the department at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio. He completed his studies for the Ph.D. degree at the University of California in 1935 under Prof. Carl O. Sauer, whose contributions to the interconnected fields

of history and geography are widely known. Before taking up his present work, Dr. Raup was on the faculty (1930-40) of the University of California at Los Angeles. He writes us that graduate students at Kent can now elect a five-hour course on the geography of western United States. This would seem to constitute a mid-continent research group whose perspective should be of advantage to the California section of the periphery. Dr. Raup is a cousin of the revered California historian, Henry Raup Wagner.

Harold F. Taggart, a native of Indiana and a graduate of Earlham College (Quaker), Richmond, Indiana, took his M.A. degree at the University of California and his Ph.D. at Stanford. He has taught in the midwest, at Santa Maria, California, and since 1922 has been dean of men at San Mateo Junior College, except for the four years (1942-46) he served in the United States navy. Dr. Taggart was on the editorial committee of this QUARTERLY from 1940 to 1943.

For note on Pablo Avila, see this QUARTERLY, March 1948, p. 92.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Justice Jesse Washington Carter of the Supreme Court of California (listed in the September QUARTERLY) is a native of Carrville, Trinity County, and took his LL.B. degree at Golden Gate Law College, San Francisco, in 1913. Some six years after graduation he began his long service in Shasta County, first as district attorney, then as city attorney of Shasta City, and from 1937 to 1939 he filled the same office in Redding, until his election to the state senate from the fifth senatorial district. His work on the Supreme Court of California commenced in September 1939. Justice Carter was a member of the board of governors of the state bar from 1927 to 1933.

Mrs. Edwina B. (Stuart) Coffing's interest in California history has prompted her not only to read, and, where possible, own editions of early-day diaries written en route to California, but to visit the actual scenes along the trail. Such sympathy with the past is to be cherished; and Mrs. Coffing and her family have been rewarded, as she says, by "the fine people" they have met.

Dwight Franklin's studies of Californiana have enabled him to fashion colored figures and miniature groups characteristic of the West. As some of these are going to the County Museum in Los Angeles, members of the Society may be privileged to see them.

Although Holbrook T. Mitchell, great-grandnephew of Thaddeus S. Kenderdine, author of *California Tramp* (written in 1858) and *California Revisited* (1897), has a family interest in his enthusiasm for Californiana, his type of mind finds satisfaction in the study of history and literature for their own sakes. But he doesn't stop there, for his knowledge of fine printing prompts him to search for evidences of it; and he writes us that to his intense pleasure he found the beautiful work of California printers on the shelves of private libraries and homes in Europe.

Visitors to the Edward Morrill bookstores at Harvard Square, Cambridge, and in Boston will be glad to recognize the name among the Society's new members. The name also stands for woolens in the Boston area—a reminder that the fine taste of the Medici, in art and literature, was made possible largely by their acumen in the woolen-cloth trade of Florence.

Connected on both sides of her family with California history, Mrs. Anna Weller Shipp, wife of Capt. E. R. Shipp, U. S. navy, retired, is also a member of the Colonial Dames. The California connections go back to her paternal grandfather, John B. Weller, Mexican War colonel, part-time U. S. commissioner on the Mexican boundary settlement, and U. S. senator from California before becoming governor of the state (1858-60). Perhaps less well-known was his fondness for horticulture which he practiced at "Fruit Vale," in Alameda County, on land formerly belonging to Henderson Lewelling. Mrs. Shipp's maternal grandfather, Capt. John McMullin, spent two years as a prisoner in the castle of Perote during the Mexican War, an experience which might have permanently undermined a less resourceful man's chances for success; but with a fellow soldier, G. W. Trahern, he took up land in San Joaquin County, went in for fine horses, and by October 1857 they were winning prizes for their animals at the state fair in Stockton. That year Captain McMullin, on his own, took another prize, namely, a wife, Miss Elizabeth Fleming Morgan of Kentucky, who not only furnished him with "beauties" as daughters, but after his death in 1868 made a name for herself for her ability in connection with the captain's San Joaquin properties. Mrs. Shipp's mother, Mrs. C. L. Weller, was Elizabeth McMullin, among whose sisters were Mrs. Francis J. Heney and Mrs. John C. Hays, Jr., both deceased; and Mrs. Lilo Perrin, who lives in Stockton. Mrs. Milton S. Latham was Molly McMullin, a first cousin.

Thomas Boarman Smith, a native of Jackson, California, and ex-Class of 1911, University of California, is the grandson of James Smith of Yorkshire, England, who emigrated to California and became a resident of Sutter Creek. Thomas N. Smith, the latter's son (father of the Society's new member), married Edith Alvord Boarman, daughter of Charles Sylvester Boarman, M.D., of Jackson, who died in 1879 from smallpox contracted while trying to relieve the sufferings of the foothill Indians during an epidemic. Extending back into California history a generation further than Mr. Smith's ancestors are those of his wife (Muriel Catherine Turner). Her great-grandfather was John Turner, who came to California, presumably from Oregon, early in August 1850. Mrs. Smith's father, Henry Garrison Turner, was born in Josephine County, Oregon, his father, Garrison Turner (whose wife was Elizabeth Starr), having lived in Oregon before coming to Modesto. In Modesto he and his brother Theodore founded respectively the Grange Company and the Turner Hardware Company. From the above records it will be apparent that Mr. and Mrs. Thomas

Boarman Smith's grandchildren, of whom there are five living, are the sixth generation of Smith-Turner pioneer stock to live in California.

A most interesting case of intertwining histories is called to mind by the English names Trimingham and Blacow, and the German Rathke. As sometimes happened during the great migration of the 1850's to California, the bearers of these names became associated while residents of St. Louis and shortly afterwards as members of an overland party led by a former California emigrant, Robert Blacow. Their descendant, Robert Trimingham (honor-award student, listed in September QUARTERLY) writes us that the party reached Blacow's ranch near present-day Irvington in 1852 (exact date uncertain), and that some years later (1861) young Trimingham's great-grandfather, James Trimingham of Yorkshire, was married to his trail associate, Augusta J. F. Rathke of Prussia. Augusta's older sister, Sophie, had already been married to John Blacow, Robert's brother, before leaving St. Louis. In the vicinity of Irvington and later in Suñol, the Triminghams and Blacows, and their Rathke wives, farmed and raised cattle. James Trimingham died in 1899 when sixty-nine; but not until 1932, when she was ninety-one, did Augusta Rathke Trimingham's eventful life come to a close—a remarkable survival.

Admiration of the colonial style in architecture and in objects of art does not prevent a devotee from admiring the less homogeneous arrays on the west coast, judging by the generous anxiety of Lewis N. Wiggins of Northampton, Massachusetts, to have the San Bernardino Historical Society's collections properly housed. Distance seems only to whet patriotism of that sort.

Mrs. J. L. Wolf (listed in September QUARTERLY) is a native of Nevada City, California, her father having been one of five brothers—Hyman W., Henry W., Michael, Morris and Joseph Hyman—who took part in the German emigration of 1848 to the United States. The Hymans, interested in merchandising, saw the possibilities offered by business connections between Hawaii and the American west coast, and their progress as island-mainland merchants can be traced through entries in the San Francisco *Directories*. For instance, under Henry W. Hyman in the 1868 edition, their field of operations is given as Portland, Ore., and Honolulu, office at 106 Battery St.; and a decade later (1876-77 *Directory*), Nevada City replaces Portland, Honolulu remaining the same. In the early 'eighties, when Hyman W. Hyman, Mrs. Wolf's father, is listed for the first time, Hyman Bros. are called wholesale grocers, with headquarters at 216-18 California St. and later at 206 Front St. Hyman W. Hyman died in 1891, the other brothers carrying on the Honolulu business. After the fire of 1906, Mrs. Wolf says, the buildings owned by the Hyman brothers were rebuilt, one of which, at Stockton and O'Farrell, was erected for the D. Samuels Lace House, the present site of Macy's.

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Incorporated March 6, 1886 Reorganized March 27, 1922

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Index

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Volume XXVII

1948

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
SAN FRANCISCO

INDEX TO VOLUME TWENTY-SEVEN

ABRAHAM DUBOIS STARR, *Pioneer California Miller and Wheat Exporter*, by W. A. Starr, 193-202
Acapulco, 40, 48
Adams, P. R., 316
Admission Day, celebration of, 232-33
"L'Affaire Dillon," 144
Agriculture, in 1851, 236
Air clock, Hermann Wenzel's, 1-8
"Alabama Claims," 66, 73
Alameda Co. Grand Jury (1869), 267
Alberni, Pedro de, 337
Alcatraz Island, 293-94
"Alderwood," Fruitvale home of C. T. Hopkins, 71-73
Alexander, David W., 108
Alter, Samuel, 309
Alvarado, Juan B., 337, 353
Alvord, William, 271, 274
Ames, T. M., 226
L'Amphitrite, corvette de guerre, at Monterey, 208
Andalusia (ship), 366
Anderson, James, 349
Andrés, M., 310
Andrew Welch, flour-carrying ship, 200-201
Angel Island, 108, 294
Angels Camp, 163
Angola (bark), 300
Anita (bark), 204
Ann (launch), 163
Ann Welch (bark), 190
ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY, 80-81
ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER, 82-84
Antelope (steamer), 302, 307
Apples, in Lucerne Valley, 113, 119, 122
Architects, S. F. (in 1868-78), 173, 174
Arenas, Cayetano, 105, 250-51, 252
Arenas, Luís, 250-51
Argüello, Gervasio, 333
Argüello, Luís Antonio, 333
Armstrong, John W., 134
Arrowhead Reservoir Co., 113
L'Artemise, corvette de guerre, at Monterey, 208
Astles, John B., author of REV. DR. W. A. SCOTT, A SOUTHERN SYMPATHIZER, 149-56; 185 (biog. note)
Astor House (scow), 259, 261, 262, 265
Atkins Seminary, 67, 73
Atlantic & Pacific R.R., 272 ff., 339, 340
Atondo y Antillón, Isidro de, 310
Australian Steamship Line, 267
Avila, José María, 337
Avila, Pablo, tr. and ed., JOSEPH DE MORAGA COMMISSIONED LIEUTENANT, 63-64; and NAMING OF THE ELECTOR-DESIGNATE, SANTA BARBARA, 1830, 333-38; 92 (biog. note)
Ayala, Juan Manuel de, 293
Ayres, William, 318
Backus, J. S., 236
Bacon, Henry D., 270
Bailey, Alcandra, house of, 282
Baily, Charles M., 93
Baker, E. D., 102
Baker, George, quoted on growth of S. F., etc., 369
Ballard, S. K., 349
Ballot, listing of parties on (1892), 315
Bancroft, Hubert Howe, trustee of Calvary Church, 156
Bancroft & Co., 269-70
Bandini, Juan, 336
Bank of California, 166
Bannister, A., 196, 197; quoted, 198-99
Baptism, in S. F. Bay, 233-34, 236
Baptist Church. *See* Wheeler, Osgood Church
Barbee, J. S., 313, 315, 316
Barker, —, associate of A. D. Starr, 193
Barker, Charles Albro, author of ELISHA OSCAR CROSBY, 133-40; 185 (biog. note)
Barley, in Santa Clara Co. (May 1849), 163
Barlow, C. A., 316
Barnes, W. H. L., 67-68
Barracouta (English ship), 180
Barry, James H., 312, 316, 318
Barry, Peter, 266
Barry, William McGill, 380
Bartlett, Washington, 171; biog. note on and family of, 174
Baseball-club ownership in Calif., 186
Beale, Edward F., 215
Bechtel, K. K., document from collection of, 310
Beebee, —, 230
Beef, in S. F. (1849), 362, 368
Bell, A. D., 170
Bell, Charles H., 179

Bell, Samuel, 97, 101
Bellune, V. de, 246
Benicia, 61-62 (birthday), 298, 300, 302-303, 307-308
Bennett, C. F., 316
Berger, Emily, 190
Berkeley, real estate in (1873-88), 344-45; Hills, 292, 293, 294
Berkeley Club, 340-41, 345, 350-51
Bernal, Mrs. Carmen Cibrian de, 107, 147
Bernal, José Cornelio, 107, 142
Bernal, José Jesús, 107
Berry, Mrs. W. H. *See* Bush, Alice Edna
Berry, William Jackson and family, 186
Beylard, Julia Howard (Mrs. Edward D.), 254-55, 319
Bidwell, John, witness in land-grant case (Nueva Flandria), 136, 139
Bierce, Ambrose, quoted, 312, 317-18
Big tree (Santa Cruz Mts.), 260
Bigelow, H. H., 166, 167, 270
Birthdays, of urban communities, 51-62, 104
Black Hawk Mine, 117
Blacow, John, 383. *See also* Rathke, Sophie
Blacow, Robert, 383
Blood Creek. *See* Tomki Creek
Boarman, Charles Sylvester, 383
Boga (Flügge's Rancho), 108
Boggs, John, quoted, 199
Bolcoff, José, 104
Bolinas, 292, 293
Bombardier, Mrs. —, 86
Book, first, by native Californian, 337
Book of Spanish Records, 251
Booth, H. J., 170
BOUND FOR THE LAND OF CANAAN, Ho! *The Diary of Levi Stowell*, ed. by Marco G. Thorne, 33-50, 157-64, 259-66, 361-70
Bourn, William B., family, 254
Bovee, James S., 153
Bowen, —, 259, 260 ("Deputy Treasurer for the Legislature"), 263, 365, 366
Bowers, S., 318
Bowie, Mrs. Henry P. *See* Poett, Agnes
Bowman, J. H., 195
Bowman, J. N., author of DETERMINATION OF THE BIRTHDAYS OF URBAN COMMUNITIES, 51-62, 104
Box S Ranch, 117 ff.
Bragg, Braxton, 216, 217
Bragg, Mrs. Braxton, 217
Branciforte, birthday of, 104
Brannan, Samuel, 129
Brayton, Rev. — (Presbyterian), 301
Bretz, Aaron, 316
Brewer, A. L., 255
Bridge, trans-bay, 339
Bridger, James, 181
Brierly, Benjamin, 231, 307, 309
Broderick, David C., mention of portrait of, 100; 369
Bromwell, Louis L., 343, 349
Bronson, J. *See* Brunson, J.
Brooklyn & Fruitvale Horse R.R., 72
Brown, —, associate of A. D. Starr, 193
Brown, James, 119, 122
Brown, John H., quoted, 265
Brown & Parker, 44, 50
Bruff's party, 363, 366, 369
Brunson, J., 36, 47
Buchanan, William C., 352
Buckeye Mill (Marysville), 194 ff.
Builders Insurance Co., 165, 168
Burch, William S., 34, 36, 362
Burke, Isaac C., 221
Burke, M. J., 151-52
Burke, T. W., 316, 317
Burns, John (hotel keeper), 219
Burrowes, George, 153, 154
Bush, Alice Edna (Mrs. W. H. Berry), 186
Bush, Edward, 186
Cabrillo, Juan. *See* Rodríguez Cabrillo, Juan
Cajon Pass, 116-17, 121
Calaveras River, 157
Calico mines, 116; town, 121
California (steamer), 34, 35, 38-43 and 47-50 *passim*, 105, 264, 362
California & Hawaiian Sugar Refining Co., 200
California Guard, 106, 111
California Immigrant Union, 169-71, 173
California Insurance Co., 171, 268, 342, 343-44, 348-49
California Native Cavalry, at Camp Wright, 222
California Pacific R.R. Co., 195-96, 202
California Pioneers, Society of, 106, 111
CALIFORNIA RECOLLECTIONS OF CASPAR T. HOPKINS, 65-73, 165-74, 267-74, 339-51
California Southern Railway, 121
California State Agricultural Society, 10; quoted, 253
California Steam Navigation Co., 67, 171, 271

Calkin, Milo, family of, 283-84
Calpella, 220
Calvary Presbyterian Church, 150 ff.
Cameron, Miss Donaldina, 20
Cameron, John, 226-27
Camp Gaston, 222
Camp Mackall, 215
Camp meeting (religious), 301, 309
Camp Wright, 221 ff.
Cañada Raimundo, 189
Cannon, Marion, 313-16 *passim*, 318
Cape Mendocino, 291
Capen, John Winchell, 229-31 *passim*, 234, 236, 306, 309
Capp, Charles S., 171
Carlin, William P., 219-20; quoted, 220, 221
Carolan, James, 190
Carolan, Peter, 190
Carolina (steamer), 362
Carpenters, in early S. F., 33-50 *passim*
Carquinez Strait, flour port, 197, 199
Carr, Deborah Anna (Mrs. Eli Teegarden), 194
Carrillo, Anastasio, 335, 337; Carlos Antonio, 335, 336, 337; Domingo, 334, 335, 337; Francisca, 337; José Raimundo, 337
Carson's Creek, 159-64 *passim*
Casserly, Eugene, 166
Castro, José, quoted by J. A. Moerenhout, 146; 353
Catlin, A. P., 93. *See also* Donaldson, Ruth
Cator, Thomas Vincent, 311-18
Cator, Mrs. T. V. *See* Chapman, Ethel
Cavillia, C., 36
Cayuga (ship), 44
Celis, Eulogio de, 109
Central Pacific R.R., 11, 17, 196-97, 271, 339
Cermeño, Sebastián. *See* Rodríguez Cermeño, Sebastián
Chamber of Commerce, S. F., 68-69 ff.
Chapman, Ethel (first Mrs. T. V. Cator), 312, 314
Cheeseman, D. W., 97, 101, 103
Chever, Edward E., quoted, 263
Chicago fire of 1871, effect of on S. F. insurance companies, 168, 270, 349
Chickering, Martha A., ed., THE FOUNDING OF A MOJAVE DESERT COMMUNITY, 113-22; 185 (biog. note)
"Chileans," 263, 264, 266, 359
Chinatown, S. F., tongs in, 19-31
Chinese, in California, 170; in S. F. (1849), 367
Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), map to circumvent, 257-58
CHINESE HIGHBINDER SOCIETIES IN CALIFORNIA, by Hart North, 19-31
Chino, 115; ranch, 117, 118
Cholera, 35, 47; in S. F. (1850), 232
Christian, – (of Utica, N. Y.), 162
Churches (Protestant), location of in 1849, 124
Cieneguita Rancho, 337
Circus, pioneer (Rowe's), 249
Citizens' Alliance, 314
Civil War, repercussions in California, 149-56, 178-80, 268-69
Clarissa Perkins (ship), 366
Clark (ship), 293
Clark, William H., 251
Clarke, Jeremiah, 135
Clarke, Newman S., 219
Clayton, Charles, 170-71
Clock. *See* Air clock
Clough, Joseph, 32
Coates, Anna, 186
Coates, George L., 186
Coinage, Mexican insurgent provisional, 132
Coleman, W. T., 350
College of California, 351
Coloma, 229, 230, 281-82
Colorado (steamer), 267
Colorado River R.R., 339
Columbia (steamer), 218
"Committee of 100," 65, 73, 271, 340
"Common Sense on the Immigrant Question" (pamphlet by C. T. Hopkins), object of, 169-70
Connor, Patrick E., 218
Constitution, Calif.'s first, under Mexico, 333
Constitution, Calif., of 1878, 343
Constitutional convention (1849), 16, 367
Con. Virginia bonanza, 346
Contra Costa, hanging in, 210
Cooley, Charles, 304
Copeland, –, 160
Cordero, Mariana S., 94
Corvalom, Christoval, 63
Cotton, from L. A. to Paris exhibition, 144
Cotton, Mrs. J. S., letters to, 225, 226
Covarrubias, J. M., 108-110 *passim*
Covelo, 221, 222, 223
Cowles, Samuel, 153

Cressy, T. R., 236
Crocker, Charles, 170
Crocker (H. S.) & Co., 270
Crockett, 197
Croix, Teodoro de, 63, 64
Crosby, Elisha Oscar, 133-40
Cross & Co., 173
Crowe, Mary Ann, 285
Cruthers & Crysup, 308
Cucamonga, 113, 118
Curry, John, 93
Cyane (sailing vessel), 179
Dalton, Alfred P., 187
Dalton, Dennis, 187
Dalton, Edward F., 187
Dalton, Henry, 187
Davidson, George, quoted, 291, 292
Davidson, Pete, 117, 122
Davis, William H., 105; quoted, 319
Dawes, —, 366
Day, David G., 364
De Boom, —, 142
Deans, William C., 222
Del Mar, Alexander, 345-46, 347
The Delayed Discovery of San Francisco Bay, by H. F. Raup, 289-96
Democratic party, in 1892 campaign, 316, 317
Dennison, Samuel, 264, 266
Dennison House (and/or Exchange), 264, 266, 365
Denver, Arthur, 282
De Peyster, Nicholas, 251
Deshler, James, 215
Determination of the Birthdays of Urban Communities, by J. N. Bowman, 51-62
Diggs, Mrs. Annie, 315
Dillon, Edward, 217, 220, 221
Dillon, Nathan, family of, 189
Dillon, Patrice, 144, 203, 207, 210, 214; quoted on S. F. gambling, 369
"Diputación of the Territory," 335
Dixon, —, 263
Documentary, 32, 310, 352
Dolch, "Ed," 116, 121
Dolch, Lee, 116, 121
Dollar, Robert, 21
Donahue, James P., 93-94
Donahue, Peter, 179
Donaldson, A. C., 93
Donaldson, Ruth (Mrs. A. P. Catlin), 93
Donnell, A. C., 349
Donnelley, Ignatius, 314
Dore, John S., 313-16 *passim*
Dos Rios, 221
Dougherty, William E., 224
Douglas, Charles D., 222
Downey, John G., letter of to Rev. Dr. W. A. Scott, 155
Downieville, 193
Drake, Francis, 289-94 *passim*
Drakes Bay, 289, 290
Dubosq, Theodore, 369-70
Dübeld, Anna, wife of J. A. Sutter, 243-44
Dumas, Alexandre, 240; quoted, 241; 242
Dunbar, E. E., quoted, 47
Durant, Henry, 269, 351
Dust, in early S. F., 262, 263
Duvall, —, 263
Duxbury Point, 293
Early Military Posts of Mendocino County, California, by Fred B. Rogers, 215-28
Earthquake of Nov. 1865, in S. F., 172
Easton, Giles A., 254, 255
Easton, Robert, 255
Echeandía, José María, 333, 336
Eden (ship), 293
Eden Valley, 221
Edith (ship), 45
Edouart, Alexander, S. F. artist, 217; biog. note, 226
Edwards, John, 215
Edwards, T., 38, 48, 366, 367, 370
"El Cerrito," 253, 319
El Charto (Mexican brig), 48
Eldorado, canvas-covered hotel (1849), 368
El Dorado Co., early homes in, 280-82
Elections, primary and secondary (Mexican regime in Calif.), 333-38
Elector-designate, naming of, at Santa Barbara (1830), 333-38
Elisha Oscar Crosby, by Charles A. Barker, 133-40
Elliott, "Capt.," 36, 47
Ellis, —, 260
El Majidi. See *Shenandoah*
El Pinal vineyard, 379
Emma Louisa Morgan (ship), 293
English, William, 316
Escambia (British steamer), 293
Etiwanda, 113, 120
Everhead, Lazarus, 352
Ex-Mission of San Gabriel, 135

Eyre, Edward L., & Co., 284
Falcon (steamer), 34, 35, 47
Farallone Islands, 291
Farmers, condition of in 1886-92, 313, 314
Farmers' Alliance, in Calif., 313-14, 317
Farnham, – (of Washington, D. C.), 364
Farnham, Mrs. Elizabeth, 261, 265
Fay, Caleb T., quoted, 369
Feather River Rancho (Larkin's), 298, 299
Felton, Charles N., 317
Fence laws, in Calif., 70-71, 73
Ferrer (Ferrelo), 289-94 *passim*
Ferry, Hypolite, 240; quoted, 241
La Fiebre de Riquezas, gold-rush novel, 237-48
First Baptist Church in S. F., 307, 309; in Sacramento, 309
First Presbyterian Church of San Francisco, 350
Flanders, Alvan, 347
Fleming, Sandford, ed., SELECTED LETTERS OF OSGOOD CHURCH WHEELER, 9-18, 123-31, 229-36, 301-309; 92 (biog. note)
Fletcher, Artemus, 349
Fletcher, Francis, 291
Flour, milling and merchandising of, 193-202
Flour warehouses, on Carquinez Strait, list of, 199
Flowers, in Calaveras River country (March 1849), 158
Flügge, Charles W., 108, 110
Foggin, Frederick, 50
Folsom, Joseph L., 251
Fong Wing, 21
Forbes, Alexander, 107
Ford, Henry L., 216, 225, 226, 378
Fort Bragg, 216 ff.
Fort Humboldt, 222
Fort Mojave, 116
Fort Point, 293, 294
Fort Weller, 217, 219 ff.
Foster, William, 194
THE FOUNDING OF A MOJAVE DESERT COMMUNITY, ed. by Martha A. Chickering, 113-22
Fountain Head Restaurant, 307, 309
Fowler, W. H. C., 349
Francis (ship), 293
Frazer, –, 262, 264
Freemasons, first, in Calif., 34
French, B. B., 34
French Benevolent Society (L. A.), 144
Friedlander, Isaac, 172, 173
Friedlander, T. C., quoted, 202
Friedlander & Chapman, 171
Frohling, –, 170
Fronteras, Presidio of, 63, 64
Gabriel, Seymour and Anna Newberg, 94
Gaffey, J., 318
Gali, Francisco, 290, 291
Gallarreta, Pedro de, 63
Gálvez, Joseph de, 63, 64
Gambling, in S. F. (1849), 369
García, José María, 335, 338
Garner, William R., 107
Gass, John H., 305
Geary, J. W., 232, 362, 368-69 (biog. note)
Geddes, Paul, 106, 107, 332
George Law (ship), 327
German Savings & Loan Society, 170, 173-74
Ghost towns, 85-87
Gibson, Horatio G., 216; quoted, 216-17, 218; biog. note, 225
Gilbert, Benjamin F., luncheon speaker, 178-80
Gilbert, John L., 315
Gillespie, A. H., 110
Gillespie, Mr. and Mrs. C. V., 321-22
Gillespie, George, 315
Gillis, William, 6
Gillman, Charles, 362, 368
Gilman, Daniel C., 341, 351
Gilstrap, W. H., 318
Gingg, Emil, 1
Gird, Richard, 117, 121
Giulitta (clipper ship), 137
Goat Island, 260, 271; "Goat Island Grab," 271, 274
Gold mining (placers), Larkin's description of, 297-300
GOLD MOUNTAIN, BIG CITY, CHINESE MAP, tr. and ed. by William Hoy, 256-58
Gold-rush novel, 237-48
Golden Gate, 289-96 *passim*
Golden Era (steamer), 327
Golden Gate (steamer), 327
Golden Hinde (sailing ship), 290, 294
Goñe, Father Mathias, 310
Gordon, George, 71
Gottig, L., 170, 173-74
Goulding, James E., 113-22
Governor (ship), 293
Graham, Isaac, 162-63, 164, 260
Grange, Calif. State, 174
Grangers, 171

Grapes, in Lucerne Valley, San Bernardino Co., 119
Grau & Werner, vineyardists, 285
Gray, A. A., cited re E. O. Crosby's bankruptcy, 139
Gray, Nathaniel, conveyance of S. F. property by, to Anna B. Sutton, 32
Grayson, "Capt." —, 233
Greeley, Justus, 195, 197
Green, Alfred A., 109
Green, Talbot H. *See* Geddes, Paul
Green Valley, 281
Grenell, Levi O., 230, 231, 236
Griffing, Frederick, 172
Grimes, Eliab, 106, 112
Guadalupe Hidalgo, treaty of, 87-89
Guadalupe River, 301
Guerra y Noriega, José de la, 333
Gwin, William M., 261, 262, 265, 266
Hagar, John S., 272-73, 339
Hahl air clock, 6-7
Haight, Henry H., 156
Hall, B., 362
Hall, E. G., bookstore of, 111
Hallidie, A. S., 350
Hamblet. *See* Hamlet, Eli
Hamlet, Eli, 38, 48, 157, 158, 161
Hamilton, L., 269, 350
Hamilton Church (Oakland), 341, 350
Hamilton Law School, 346
Hanson, George M., 222
Harlan, Jacob W. and Ann Eliza, 370
Harpending, Asbury, 179
Hartmann, Emil A., 3
Hartwell, W. H., assist. sec'y and treasurer, History Co., 201
Hasting's Cut-off, 180
Hatch, —, deputy-surveyor, 215
Hathaway, Barnaby W., letter to, from F. P. Tracy, 98-101; biog. note on, 103
Haven, C. D., 350
Hayne, Duncan, house of, 319
Hearst (town), 220
Hecox, A. A., 162, 164
Heintzelman, H. P., 216
Heizer, Robert F., 132
Helbing, August, 171
Henderson, Mrs. Jenny Crocker, 254
Henley, Thomas J., 215, 216, 219
Herald of Truth (semi-monthly religious paper), 9, 17
Hermance, L., 305
HERMANN WENZEL AND HIS AIR CLOCK, by W. Barclay Stephens, 1-8
Herron, Walter, 352
Hesperia Land and Water Co., 113
Hidalgo y Costillo, Father Miguel, 132
Highbinder societies in Calif., 19-31
Highton, Henry E., 67-68
Hill, Roy, author of MEXICAN INSURGENT PROVISIONAL COINAGE, 132; 185
Hinckley, J. C., 97, 99, 101
Hittell, John S., author of "All About California," mentioned, 169
Hodges, —, associate of A. D. Starr, 193
Hoffman, Judge Ogden, 136, 139
Hogg, Thomas E., 179
Holbrook, Charles, house of, 5
Holcomb Valley, 122
Holladay, S. W., 346
Hollingsworth, John McHenry, quoted, 110
Hollister, J. J., 287
Hollister, W. W., 70-71, 73, 287
Hopkins, Caspar T., Calif. recollections of, 65-73, 165-74, 267-74, 339-51; children of, 67, 342, 347-48, 351
"Hounds," 106, 263, 264, 266, 358-61 *passim*, 368
Howard, The (fire-fighting company), 106
Howard, Abraham (nephew of W. D. M. Howard), 255, 328, 329
Howard, Agnes (Mrs. Duncan Hayne), 319
Howard, Agnes Poett. *See* Poett, Agnes
Howard, Anna Dwight (Mrs. W. H.), 254
Howard, Edward W., 105, 254, 255 (biog. note), 319
Howard, George H., 107-108, 109-10, 252-55 *passim*, 319-32 *passim*
Howard, John Kenneth, 319
Howard, Joseph Henry Poett, 319
Howard, William Davis Merry, 105-112, 249-55, 319-32 (letters of, 320 ff.)
Howard, William Henry (son of W. D. M. Howard), 250, 252, 254, 255, 322-31 *passim*
Howard, William Henry (son of Edward W. Howard), 319, 320
Howard & Green, 106-107
Howard Cattle Co., 255
Howard Street Church (Presbyterian), 307
Hoy, William, tr. and ed., GOLD MOUNTAIN, BIG CITY, CHINESE MAP, 257-58; 284 (biog. note)

Hudson's Bay Co., 106, 107
Hull, William E., 218, 219
Humboldt, District of the, 226
Hunt, Jonathan, lobby at Sacramento, 165 ff.
Hunt, T. Dwight, 49, 307
Hunt, Wilson Price, diary of, described, 181-82
Hutchings, "Capt.," 349
Hutchins, "Capt.," master of *New World* (river steamer), 306
Hyde, George, 352
Hyman brothers (Hyman W., Henry W., Michael, Morris, and Joseph), 383
Illinois (steamer), 327
Immigration question in Calif., 169-71
Immigration Society, 346
"Immovable phalanx," 317
IN MEMORIAM, 183-84, 379
Independent party, in 1892, campaign of, 316
Indian reservations, 215 ff.
Industrial Union, 314
Insurance companies, in S. F. (1868-69), 66 ff., 165 ff., 270, 349-50
Irrigation, in Mojave River area, 113-22
Irving House, 250
J. M. Chapman (ship), in Asbury Harpending affair, 179
Jackson, Harriot West (Mrs. Charles M. Jackson), IN MEMORIAM, 379
Jacobsen, H. J. T., 316
Jamesworth, Charles, 67
Japanese, in Calif. in 1868. *See* Schnell's Japanese colony
John L. Stephens (steamer), 327
Johnson, C. R., of Union Lumber Co., 218
Johnson, Cave, 34
Johnson, Edward, 217, 220; quoted, 220; 221
Jones, Mrs. Anna Hamrick, 188
Jones, D., 366
Jones, Mrs. Margaret Louisa Axton, 189
Jones, Thomas Ap Catesby, 43
Jones' mill, 260
Jordan, William H., 223
JOSEPH DE MORAGA COMMISSIONED LIEUTENANT, tr. and notes by Pablo Avila, 63-64
Josephine (ship), 293
Joyce, John F., 34-46 *passim*, 370
Kallock, Amariah, 229, 230, 236
Kellam, Thomas H., 131
Kemble, John H., quoted, 319
Kenderdine, Thaddeus S., 381
Kennedy, —, 263, 363
Kerns, Thomas J., 316, 317
Keyes, Erasmus D., 216
King, —, 366
King, James, 362, 368
King, T. Butler, 172, 261
Kinkaid, James E., family of, 188-89
Kinkaid, Menna (Mrs. William Porter Putnam), 188-89
Kino, Father Eusebio Francisco, 310
Know-Nothing party in Calif., 144, 208-211
Knower, Daniel, 369
Knudson, Thomas, 226
Kohler, Charles (of Kohler & Frohling, wine mfgrs.), 170
Kohler, Fred, 369
Kohlmoos Hotel, Alameda, air clock in, 1
Krahe, William, 3
Labor unions in 1892, 313, 314
Lake, Mrs. Kate B., 20
Lake Vineyard Land and Water Assoc., 342
Lancaster (flagship), 179
Land grants, 134 ff.; J. A. Moerenhout's testimony in, 147
Lane, James A., 221
La Paz, Kino and Atondo at, 310
Larkin, Thomas O., 49
LARKIN TO HIS SONS, ed. by Dr. A. T. Leonard, Jr., 297-300
Las Putas Rancho, 108-109
Lawler, F. W., 312
Lazard Frères, 170
Leale, John, 285
Lease, Mrs. Mary, 315
Leavenworth, T. M., 266
Le Conte, John, 351
Lee, Samuel Yorke At, 34, 46
Lees, Isaiah W., 19, 20
Leidesdorff, William A., estate of, 106; quoted, 112
Lendrum, John H., 215
Leonard, Dr. A. T., Jr., ed. of LARKIN TO HIS SONS, 297-300; 376, 378, 380 (biog. note)
Lette, George, 174
Leverson, Montague R., 346, 347
Lewelling, A. & Co., 71, 73
Lewelling, Henderson, 382
Lewis (steamer), 293
Lieber, Francis, library of, 341, 351
Lighthouse service on Pacific coast, 71
Lime Point, 294

Lincoln, Abraham, 87, 89; nominee for presidency in 1860, 98, 100
Lincoln, Jerome, 173
Lippitt, Francis J., 226
Locke, —, 157, 158, 161
Lodge's mill, 162
Lombard, J., 141, 143
Long Valley (Mendocino Co.), 218
Loomis, A. W., 149-50
Lord, Miss, Young Ladies Seminary, Benicia, 303
Lord, Charles L., 68
Lorenzana, Jazinto, 335, 336, 338
Los Amigos Rancho, 285
Lower California, 203 ff., 353-54
Lucerne Valley, San Bernardino Co., 113, 117-22
Lucket, —, 35
Lugo, Tomasa Ignacia, 337
Lumber, from Puget Sound, in S. F. shipbuilding industry, 65-66, 67; 264, 266, 267-68, 274
Luning, N., 344
Lup-Yomi Rancho, 107-108, 109
Lust for Riches, by Luis Monguió, 237-48
Lynch, Jerry, 317
Lynch law, in S. F., 356, 358, 361
McAllister, Hall, 266
McCalla, T., 263
McCormick, L., steam sawmill owner at Sausalito, 261
McCrellish, Fred, 271, 274
McDonald, James R., 97, 99, 101-102
McDonald, William, 352
McDougal, George, 352
MacGowan, Alexander B., 223
McGraw, E. W., 346-47
McKee, "Colonel," 153
McKim (steamer), 128
McLane, —, 361
McLaughlin brothers, 30
McMullin, Elizabeth (Mrs. C. L. Weller), 382
McMullin, John, 382
McNab, Gavin, 316
McNear, G. W., and Co., 199, 200
McNear, Seward B., 200
M'Nevin, E., 343
McPherson, Alexander, sawmill of, 226
M'Ruer, D. C., 172
Madsen, Martin C., In Memoriam, 183-84
Maguire, James G., 316
Maitorena, José Joaquín, 333
Manila galleon, 289
Manual of American Ideas, civics book by C. T. Hopkins, described, 269-70; 341
Marginalia, 91-95, 185-91, 283-87, 380-83
Marine surveyors, in S. F., 66
Marino, José Matías, 108
Markham, Edwin, 280
Marshall, James W., as horticulturist, 281
Marshall, John, of *SS. California,* 45, 48, 49
Martin, Irving, obit. of Harriot West Jackson, 379
Martin, James P., 218
Martin, W. H., 169, 171
Martin, William (Irish gardener), 345
Masons. *See* Freemasons
Massey, Thomas, 316
Masters, Rev. Mr. —, 30
Mattheson, R. N., 97, 99, 101
Mayfield Farm, 134-39 *passim*
Mayock, Stonewall ("Stoney") Jackson and family, 285
Mazatlán company, 338
Meacham, G. W., 370
Meetings, 80, 85-89, 178-83, 280-82, 376-78
Melbius, C. F., 174
Mellus, Henry, 106, 110, 250, 251
Mellus & Howard, 106, 251
Mendocino Co., Indian reservations in, 215 ff.; cattle king of, 224
Merchants Exchange, S. F., 69, 200
Merchants Mutual Marine Insurance Co., 66
Merrill, J. H., 362, 369
Merritt, Samuel, director of Starr & Co., 173, 197
Mesa, María Antonia, 135
Metal & Thermit Corp., 94-95
Methodist Church South, in Sonoma in 1853, 308
Mexican Insurgent Provisional Coinage, by Roy Hill, 132
Mexican land-title questions, 134 ff.
Middleton, John, 153
Middleton, Samuel P. (son of John), 153
Mile Rocks, 293
Military posts, Mendocino Co., 215 ff.
Miller, Guy C. (city historian of Palo Alto), quoted, 134, 138, 139
Miller, H. M. A., sec'y Starr & Co., 197
"Millionaires or Morals," speech by T. V. Cator, mentioned, 312
Mills, D. O. family, 254

Mills Seminary, 72-73
Mints, private (in 1849), 365, 369-70
Mission Bay (S. F.), 339
Mission Dolores, 253
Mission San Jose, in May 1849, 162
Mission Santa Clara, in May 1849, 162
Mitten, Mr. and Mrs. Homer H., 221
Mocker, Marie, wife of Hermann Wenzel, 2
Moderators. *See* "Hounds"
Moerenhout, Jacques A., second incumbency of, 141-48, 203-14, 353-60; quoted, 164
Mojave River, bottom lands of, 118
Monguió, Luis, author of LUST FOR RICHES, 237-48; 284 (biog. note)
Montagnie, J. de la, 98
Monterey, in early 1850's, 144
Monticello, Calif., 20-21
Mooney, Tom, 165, 168
Moore, —, 260
Moore, C. W., 346
Moore, Jeremiah B., 218
Moore, Orlando H., 217
Moore's mill, 162
Moorman, Madison Berryman, diary of, described, 180-81
Moquelumne Indians, 140
Moraga, Gabriel, 104
Moraga, Joseph de, commissioned lieutenant, 63-64
Moraga, Oliver, 64, 336
Morelos y Pavón, José María, 132
Morgan, Michael R., 215
Morris, Joseph, 130, 131, 231, 301, 309
Morrison, George H., sec'y History Co., quoted, 194 ff.
Morrison, J. J., 315
Morrison, Roderick M., 160, 163-64
Mosquitoes, size of in S. F. (1849), 364
Moss, J. Mora, 71
Mt. Diablo, 157
Mt. Tamalpais, 293
Mowe, George W., 168
Mulholland, Shorty, 117-18, 122
Murieta, Joaquín, 244 ff.
Mutual Orchard Co., 342
Mygatt, Milton and Helen Young, 286
NAMING OF THE ELECTOR-DESIGNATE, SANTA BARBARA, 1830, by Pablo Avila, 333-38
Narragansett (sloop), 179
Nasatir, A. P., tr. & ed., SECOND INCUMBENCY OF JACQUES A. MOERENHOUT, 141-48, 203-14, 353-60; 185 (biog. note)
Nautical School, in S. F., 343
"Navies of the Pacific," luncheon meeting topic, 178-80
Nelson, Mrs. —, 151
Nelson, Hans C., 189
Nevitt, J. H. *See* Novett
New Helvetia, 297, 298
NEW MEMBERS, 90-91, 184-85, 283, 380
New School Presbyterian churches in 1849 in Calif., 124
New World (steamer), 306
New York *Herald*, quoted, 312
New York *Times*, quoted on Leland Stanford's presidential boom, 318
New York Volunteers, 160, 163-64
Newberg, Anna. *See* Gabriel, Seymour
Newell, Marshall A., 349
Newhall, H. M., 156
Newmark, Valentine, 187-88
Noé, José de Jesús, 109
Nombela, Julio, author of gold-rush novel, 237-48
Nome Cult Indian Reservation, 215, 220, 221; Farm, 215
Nome Lackee. *See* Nome Cult Indian Reservation
North, Hart H., author of CHINESE HIGHBINDER SOCIETIES IN CALIFORNIA, 19-31; 91-92 (biog. note)
North Star (steamer), 327
Norton, Myron, 266
Novett, Joseph H., 260, 265, 361-62, 363
Noyes, James P., 151
Noyo, 219; harbor, 226
Noyo River, 216
Nudd, Lord & Co., 68
Nueva Flandria. *See* Bidwell, John
O'Brien, Robert, quoted ("Riptides," S. F. *Chronicle*, Sept. 22, 1948), 376-78
O'Connor, M. J., 170
Occidental Warehouse, 197
Ohio (battleship), 12-13, 18
Ohio (steamer), 366
Ojai Rancho, 337
Old Woman Springs, 113, 117
"Olivewood," Hopkins' Pasadena estate, 342
Olómpali, 338
Ontario Colony, 113, 118, 120
Oregon (steamer), 34, 46, 235, 261, 263, 366, 367
Orm, —, 366
Orogrande, 116, 121

Ortega, José Francisco de, 377
Osborn, J. W., 123, 131
Osio, Antonio M., 110
Outcalt, Peter, 349
Oxford (ship), 293
Pacheco, Romualdo, 335-37 *passim*
The Pacific (weekly religious paper), 149-50
Pacific & Atlantic R.R., 140, 252
Pacific Banner (Baptist paper), 10, 17, 305-306, 309
Pacific Coast Pilot, quoted, 292
Pacific Insurance Co., 165-68 *passim*
Pacific Mail SS. Co., 34, 234; owners of S. F. lot, 172
Pacific R.R., 168-69, 267
Pacific Social Science Assoc., 345-47
Pacific Squadron, 178-80
Pacific Tract Society, 307, 309
Paden, Irene D., luncheon speaker, 180-81
Pahl, Harriet W. (Mrs. P. C. H. Pahl), 122
Pahl, P. C. H., 119-20, 122
Palace Hotel, 257
Palmer, Mr. and Mrs. Silas H., air clock in house of, 5-6
Panama (steamer), 34, 46, 218, 219, 260, 293, 364
Pardo, Roberto, 335, 338
Parker House, 44, 50, 263, 264, 266, 368
Parratt, Edna Martin, tr., Kino-Atondo document, 310
Passaic (monitor), 179
Patty, – (a doctor), 224
Paxson, Frederic L., luncheon speaker, 87-89
Pears, in Lucerne Valley, 113, 119, 122
Pedlar, Mary Ellen, 186
Pedlar, Micah and family, 186
Pelton, John C., 10, 236
People's party, in Calif., 313
People's Press. See *Weekly People's Press*
Peralta Park, 345
Pereda y Arce, Francisco de, 310
Perkins, F. B., 346
Perkins, George C., 197
Perry, Emma (Mrs. William Rutherford), 285
Peruvians, in gold rush, 38, 48
Peugh (also spelled Pew and Pugh), –, 159-64 *passim*
Pew. *See* Peugh, –
Phelps, Rev. Dr. –, 154
Pico, Andrés, 242, 247
Pico, Concepción, 337
Pico, José Ramón, 222
Pico, Pío, 250-51, 337
Pierce, Horace, 304-305
Pigeon Point Lighthouse, 71
Pike's Peak gold rush, guidebooks for, 182
Pine Street Church (Baptist), 306, 307, 309
Pioneer Museum and Art Gallery (Stockton), 379
Pismo grant, 135
Pit River Indians, 223
"Placer of California," Larkin's idea of, 298-99
Poett, Agnes (Mrs. W. D. M. Howard), 109, 249, 252 ff., 319 ff. For subsequent marriages, *see* p. 320
Poett, Alfred, 249, 252, 319, 322
Poett, Joseph Henry, 249, 251, 252, 326
Poett, Julia, 249, 324
Poett, Marion (Mrs. J. H. P. Howard), 319
Poett, Sarah, 249, 324
Point Bonita, 293, 294
Point Concepción, 337
Point Reyes, 291; lighthouse, 71
Polk, Leonidas L., 314
Pomeroy, Prof. –, 346
Poorman's Creek, 193
Pope, A. J., 173
Populism, in Calif., 311-18
Port Costa, 197
Portolá, Gaspar de, 289, 290, 376-78
Portsmouth (corvette), 206
"Potato Patch," 292
Potrero of Santa Clara Rancho, 107
Potter, William (or Thomas?), 220
Potter Valley, 220
Presbyterian Church of Benicia, 302
Prescott, George W., 197
Preston, O. J., 34
Prevaux, Francis E., 229, 230, 231, 236
Price, Rodman M., 49, 362, 368
Price, William, 20; statement of, on highbinders in S. F., 22-31
Procureur, A. P., 8
Provines, R. R., 153
Pueblo Valley (Mission Santa Clara), 162
Pugh. *See* Peugh, –
Purdy, S., 308
Putnam, Royal Porter, and family, 188-89
Putnam, S. O., 171
Putnam, William Porter, 188-89; wife of, *see* Kinkaid, Menna

Rabbit Springs, 113, 117
Rae, W. G., 107
Railroad across northern Mexico, 146-47, 204-205, 213-14, 354
Rainfall and wheat production, 199, 202
Ralston, W. C., lobby at Sacramento, 165, 166, 339
Rancho Verde, 116, 121
Ranchos, W. D. M. Howard testifying in connection with, 107-110
Randle, P. W., 218
Randlett, Horace D., 17
Ransome, Ernest L., 197
Rathke, Augusta J. F. (Mrs. James Trimingham), and Sophie (Mrs. John Blacow), 383
Raup, H. F., author of THE DELAYED DISCOVERY OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY, 289-96; 380-81 (biog. note)
Read, H. W., 131
Reading, P. B., 86
Redding, B. B., 346
Redwood City, trans-bay bridge at, 339
Redwood Lumber Assoc., 267-68, 274
Redwood Valley (Russian River country), 220, 221
Reed, Mrs. — (widow), 262, 265
Reese, Mrs. — (mother of Mrs. Thomas H. Selby), 154
Reese, Michael, his connection with Lieber library, 341-42, 351
Regulators. *See* "Hounds"
Reid, Mrs. Whitelaw, 254
Rents, in S. F. (1849), 361, 368
REPUBLICAN NOMINATING CONVENTION OF 1860, by Milton H. Shutes, 97-103
Republican party (in 1892), 315, 316, 317
REV. DR. W. A. SCOTT, A SOUTHERN SYMPATHIZER, by John B. Astles, 149-56
Rhoads, Thomas, family of, 187
Richardson, William A., 262, 265-66
Rickets, Bro. —, 231
Ridley Ranch, 109
Riley, Stephen, 306, 308
Rincon de las Salinas y Potrero Viejo, 107
Rincon de San Francisquito Rancho, 134, 135
Rinconada del Arroyo de San Francisquito, 135
Rio de Janeiro (ship), 293
"Riptides" (Portola and the Sacred Expedition—Pt. V). *See* O'Brien, Robert
Risdon, David Mattison, 190
Rising Sun House (at Rose Springs), 282
Riverside Colony, 113
Rixford, E. H., 285
Roberts, James B., 153-54
Roberts, Samuel, 266, 361, 368
Robinson, Alfred, 321
Robles, Teodor and Secundino, ranch of, 134, 135
Rock Springs, 113, 117
Rodríguez, Dámaso Antonio, 335-38 *passim*
Rodríguez, Manuel, 104
Rodríguez Cabrillo, Juan, 289, 290, 294
Rodríguez Cermeño, Sebastián, 289, 290, 292, 294
Rogers, Fred B., author of EARLY POSTS OF MENDOCINO COUNTY, CALIFORNIA, 215-28; luncheon speaker, 378
Rollins, Philip Ashton, collection of, luncheon topic, 181-83
Rollinson, William, 306, 307, 309
Rolph, George M., 200
Rose, Julius K., 108
Rose Mine, 117
Rose Springs, 282
Ross, Charles L., 10, 18, 261
Round Valley. *See* Nome Cult Indian Reservation
Rowe, Joseph A. (pioneer circus man), 249
Rutherford, William and wife, 285
Sacramento, appearance of, in Nov. 1849, 128; fire at, in 1852, 303-304
Sacramento *Daily Bee*, quoted, 219
Sacramento River, banks of, in 1849, 128; in 1848, 298; in 1853, 307-308
St. Claire, Henri, 309
St. Ignatius College, 380
St. Louis & San Francisco R.R., 272
St. Mary's (sailing ship), 179
St. Matthew's Church, San Mateo, 254, 255, 320
St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, San Francisco, 149
Salmon, in Noyo River, 216
Salvador (packet-steamer), 179
Samoset (ship), 293
Samuels, D., Lace House, 383
San Agustín (Cermeño's ship), 290
San Antonio, hanging at, 210
San Bernardino Co., desert community in, 113-22
San Bruno Rancho, 109

San Buenaventura Mission, 337
San Carlos (packet boat), 293
San Francisco (clipper ship), 292-93
San Francisco, determination of its birthday, 57-61
San Francisco, growth of, in 1849, 363, 365-70 *passim*
San Francisco Bay, delayed discovery of, 289-96
San Francisco *Bulletin*, methods criticized, 340
San Francisco *Herald*, quoted, 250
San Gabriel, ex-Mission of, 135
San Joaquin River in spring of 1849, 157, 162
San Jose, capital in 1849, 368
San Jose, Elisha Crosby in, 136
San Mateo Rancho, 105-112 *passim*, 250 ff., 324, 329-32 *passim*
Sánchez, José de la Cruz, 251-52, 253
Sand, in S. F. (1849), 363-64, 369
Sanders, George H., 173, 174
Santa Barbara, naming of elector-designate at, 333-38
Santa Barbara Mission, secularization of, 337
Santa Catalina Island, 41, 48
Santa Cruz, in May 1849, 162
Santa Cruz, mission and town of, 104
Santa Cruz Mountains, 259-60
Santa Rosa, in 1853, 307-309
Sarah (schooner), 68
Saranac (side-wheeler), 179
Sargent, A. A., 97, 102
Sargent, D., 226
Saunders, George, 368
Sausal Creek, 71-72
Sausalito Rancho, 271
Sawmill, first in Calif., 164
Schmidt, John (farmer from Prussia), 345
Schnell's Japanese colony (in 1868), 280
Schoemann, Otto, 173
School, first public in S. F., 233
Schwartz, George. Same as Swat, q.v.
Scotchler, J. B., 66
Scott, Rev. Dr. W. A., 149-56
Scott, William, son of W. A., 152-53
Sea King. See *Shenandoah*
Sea Nymph (ship), 293
Seabough, Samuel, 274
Sebastopol, celebration in Calif. of capture of, 212-13, 214
THE SECOND INCUMBENCY OF JACQUES A. MOERENHOUT, tr. and ed. by A. P. Nasatir, 141-48, 203-14, 353-60
Selby, "Mrs." (probably wife of Thomas H.), 152, 154, 156
Selby, Thomas H., 71
SELECTED LETTERS OF OSGOOD CHURCH WHEELER, ed. by Sandford Fleming, 9-18, 123-31, 229-36, 301-309
Seligman, A., 170
Semple, Robert, 44
Senator (steamer), 302
Sharon, William E., family of, 286
Shaw, Richard G., 224
Sheldon, Jared, 187
Shelter Cove, 218
Shenandoah, 180
Shepard, —, 366
Sherman, William T., 49
Shipbuilding on Pacific coast, list of vessels, as of 1844, 348
Shipwrecks, in vicinity of Golden Gate, 292-93
Shoemaker, —, 366
Shorb, J. De Barth, 342
Shutes, Milton H., author of REPUBLICAN NOMINATING CONVENTION OF 1860, 97-103, 185
Sierra Flume and Lumber Co., 343
Sierra Nevada Hotel (Coloma), 281
Sierra Valley, wild hay in, 194
Silver, in San Bernardino Co., 116, 122
Silver, free, 313-16 *passim*
Simmons, Hutchinson & Co., 127-28
Simpson, C. M., 318
Simpson, John, 226
Sirius (Atlantic steamer), 69
Smith, James, 382
Smith, Persifer F., 35, 42, 43, 251
Smith, Thomas N., 382
Sneath, R. G., 69, 70, 272-73
Snelling, Benjamin, 130
Society in California (1856), 356 ff.
Solá, Pablo, 333
Solano House (Benicia), 302, 308
"Solid eight," 317
Solis, Joaquín, 337
Somerset House (inn, outside Placerville), 86
Sonoma Valley (in 1853), 308
Sonora (steamer), 327
Sonora (Mexico), invasion of, in 1853, 145-47, 353-54
Sonorans, on way to mines in 1849, 162, 164
South Palo Alto, 138-39
South Pass, 182

South Vallejo, 194, 197-201 *passim*
Spanish, expulsion of, from Mexico, 334, 336
Sparks, Isaac J., 135
Sperry, Austin, proprietor of Sperry Mill, 194
Sperry Flour Co., 195, 200
Spofford Alley, 29
"Spot Resolutions," of Abraham Lincoln in Mexican War, 87, 89
Squatters, along Sacramento River (Nov. 1849), 128
Stanford, Leland, 97, 99, 170, 171, 195-96, 271, 272, 318 (boom for presidency), 339, 340
Stanger, Frank M., luncheon speaker, 377
Staples, D. J., 97, 102, 166
Starbird, Ellen Alicia (Mrs. "Stoney" Mayock), 285
Starbuck house, in Green Valley, 281
Starr, A. D., pioneer California miller, 193-202, 284
Starr, Augustus W., 196, 197
Starr, Elizabeth (Mrs. Garrison Turner), 382
Starr, W. A., author of ABRAHAM DUBOIS STARR, 193-202; 283-84 (biog. note)
Starr, William M., 197, 199-200; 202 (biog. note)
Starr & Co. *See* ABRAHAM DUBOIS STARR
Starr Mills (South Vallejo), 194 ff.
Steamboats, "first," on Calif. inland waters, 366, 370
Stephens, W. Barclay, author of HERMANN WENZEL AND HIS AIR CLOCK, 1-8; 92 (biog. note)
Steptoe, Edward J., 217
Stetson, J. B., 350
Stettinius, Alexander, 361
Stewart, — (of Ohio), 162
Stockton, Robert F., 106, 107
Stockton, Farmers' Alliance meeting at (1892), 314; 379
Stockton, Levi Stowell in, spring of 1849, 157-63 *passim;* home of George West family, 379
Stoddard Well (Mojave desert), 116
Storms, S. P., 215
Storms' mile track, 222
Stow, Joseph W., 68
Stowell, Levi, diary (1849) of, 33-50, 157-64, 259-66, 361-70
Street signs, on gas lamps (in S. F.), 348
Streeter, William A., quoted, 337
Stuart, Robert, diary of, 181-82
Sugar beets, 117, 121
Sugar Factors Co., Ltd., 200
Susan Ann (launch?), 157, 163
Susannetta (launch on Sacramento River), 163
Sutter, John A., 136, 139, 140, 240, 242, 243. *See also* Dübeld, Anna
Sutton, Anna B. (wife of John), indenture, 32
Sutton, Owen Paul, 159, 160, 163, 259, 260, 265 (quoted), 368-69
Swat (also spelled Schwartz), George, 136, 140
Swat (or Schwartz), Juan de, 136
Sweasey, William J., and family, 189
Swift, John Franklin, 93, 173
Swift, John H., 222
Taafe, G. O'Hara, 170
Taggart, Harold F., author of THOMAS VINCENT CATOR, 311-18; 381 (biog. note)
Tamariz, Francisco de Paula, 336
Tassin, A. G., 223
Taylor, Bayard, quoted, on growth of S. F., 369
Taylor, C. L., 350
Taylor, Myra Hopkins (Mrs. John Taylor), 348, 351
Taylor, William, 124, 131, 231
Teegarden, Eli, 194. *See also* Carr, Deborah Anna
Teegarden, Mary Anna (Mrs. A. D. Starr), 194, 202
Teegarden & Co., 194
Teixeira, Pedro, 290
Ten Mile River, 216
Tennessee (ship), 293
Teschemacher, Henry F., 107-108, 250-52 *passim*
Thomas, Rev. —, 301
THOMAS VINCENT CATOR, by H. F. Taggart, 311-18
Thomes Creek, 215
Thompson, Alpheus B., 337; relatives of, 286
Thompson, Joseph P., 107-108
Thorne, Marco G., ed., BOUND FOR THE LAND OF CANAAN, Ho!, 33-50, 157-64, 259-66, 361-70; 92 (biog. note)
Three Fingered Jack, 265
Tibbey, Mrs. M. A., quoted, 369
Tiburon Point, 271
Ticó, Fernando, 335-37 *passim*
Tiffany, — (of St. Louis), 129
Tinling, Mrs. Marion, 137

Tobin, James, 217, 220, 221
Tomki Creek (Blood Creek), 220
Tongs, Chinese, in San Francisco, 19-31
Tonquin (ship), 182
Touchard, G., 350
Townsend, Mrs. E. J., quoted, 255
Tracy, Frederick P., 97; letter of, to B. W. Hathaway, 98-101; biog. note, 102; 103
Trahern, G. W., 382
"Transport Case," 67 ff.
Treadwell, L. L., 67-68
Trimingham, James, 383. *See also* Rathke, Augusta J. F.
Trinidad Bay, 291, 294
Trinity Church (in S. F.), 111, 112
Trist, Nicholas B., Mexican War peace-commissioner, 88-89
Troy, Robert, 316
Tulare Valley Citizen, 318
Tulley, E. C., 313
Turner, Garrison, 382
Turner, John, 382
Ulloa, Lope de, 290
Unamuno, Pedro de, 290, 291
Union Fire and Marine Insurance Co. of New Zealand, 349-50
Union Lumber Co., 218
Union Secret Club, 152-53
Unitarian Society (in 1888), 350
"The Uplands," 319
Urban communities, birthdays of, 51-62, 104
Vallejo, town of, 303
Vallejo, Juan A., 107
Vallejo, María de la Luz Carrillo, 107
Vallejo, Salvador, 107
Van Pelt, John, 302
Van Voorhies, William, 34, 157 ff., 368-69
Vanderbilt, Mrs. – (of Benicia), 302
Vann, W. A., 316
Verastegui, M. de, 310
Verde Ranch, 116
Victor, J. N., 121
Victoria (British ship), 40, 48
Victoria, Guadalupe, 333
Victoria, Manuel, 337
Victorville, 113, 116, 121
Villa de Branciforte. *See* Branciforte
Vizcaíno, Sebastián, 289-94 *passim*
Voiles, Jane (Mrs. William Voiles), luncheon speaker), 280-82
Volante (Peruvian brig), 48
Voorhies. *See* Van Voorhies
Waddell, James Iredell, 180
Wadsworth, William R., 69
Wagner, Henry R., quoted, 291
Waite, E. G., 315
Walker, William, invasion of Sonora, 145-46, 148, 203-06 *passim*
Wall, Isaac B., murder of, 213, 214; 308
Waller, R. H., 150
Ward, Frank, 264, 266, 352
Ward, James C., 266
Wardall, E. M., 313, 314
Warren (U.S.S.), 264, 266
Warren, Mary (the first Mrs. W. D. M. Howard), 105, 110, 112, 249
Warrior Queen (ship), 293
Washington City and California Mining Assoc., 363, 369
Wateree (iron side-wheeler), 179
Waterman, R. W., 174
Waters, William P., 35, 42, 157 ff., 364, 370
Watrous, Charles, 97, 101
Weaver, James B., 315, 316
Webb, William H., 267
Weber, Charles M., 379
Weekly People's Press, 318
Weekly Star, 312, 318
Weill, Alexander, 170
Weimer, Peter, 281
Weller, C. L., 382. *See also* McMullin, Elizabeth
Weller, John B., 221, 382
Wells, S. T., 150
Wenzel, Hermann, and family, 1-8
West, George and Allen, parents of Harriot West Jackson, 379
West, W. B., 379
Western Shore (ship), 293
Western Watchman (Eureka), 318
Wetzler, G., 174
Wheat, Santa Clara Co. (May 1849), 163; in early Calif., 194-95
Wheat clippers, 198
Wheat exporter and miller. *See* Starr, A. D.
Wheatport, 197, 200
Wheeler, Elizabeth Hamilton (Mrs. O. C. Wheeler), 10, 14, 305
Wheeler, Osgood Church, selected letters of, 9-18, 123-31, 229-36, 301-309; 41, 44, 261, 370
Whepley, –, 157
White, Bob, 226

White, George E., 224
White, Stephen M., 316, 317; quoted, 318
Whitney & Sutton, 159, 161, 162
Whitwell, F. S., 254
Whitwell, Gertrude Howard, author of WILLIAM DAVIS MERRY HOWARD, 105-112, 249-55, 319-32; 185
Widney, R. M., quoted, 318
Wilgus, Hilda K., luncheon speaker, 181-83
Willey, O. F., 172-73
Willey, S. H., 36, 47
WILLIAM DAVIS MERRY HOWARD, by his granddaughter, Gertrude Howard Whitwell, 105-112, 249-55, 319-32
Williams, —, ranch of, 260
Williams, Albert, 260, 265
Williams, Henry Fairfax, 33 ff., 259 ff., 265 (quoted), 361, 368, 369, 370 (quoted)
Williams, Isaac, 135
Williams, Thomas, 281
Williamson, R. S., 71
Williamson, T. S., murder of, 213, 214
Willis, E. J., 305
Willoughby, F. S. M., 38, 48
Wilson, H. C., 317, 318
Wilson, James, 250
Wilson, M., 366
Wimmer, Peter. *See* Weimer, Peter
Wing, Fong. *See* Fong Wing
Winkley, John W., luncheon speaker, 85-87
Winn, M. L., 307. *See also* Fountain Head Restaurant
Wistman, John, 370
Wistman, Lorenzo, 163, 164, 260
Wolfskill, William, 108-109, 110
Women, missed, in early Calif., 261-65 *passim*, 368
Wood, William Graham, 93
Woodbridge, Sylvester, 36, 37, 43, 47, 49, 302-303
Woodruff, Edward C., 223
Wool, John E., in Dillon affair, 207
Workman, Julian, 135
Wright, George, 217, 222, 227 (biog. note)
Wright & Sanders, S. F. architects, 173, 174
Wyoming (screw-steamer), 179
Yerba Buena Island. *See* Goat Island
Young Ladies Seminary, in Benicia, 303
Zane, John P., 97, 99, 101-102

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Page 120, line 14 from foot, *for* LXVIII *read* LXXVIII.

Page 237, line 20 from foot, *for* 1936 *read* 1836.

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